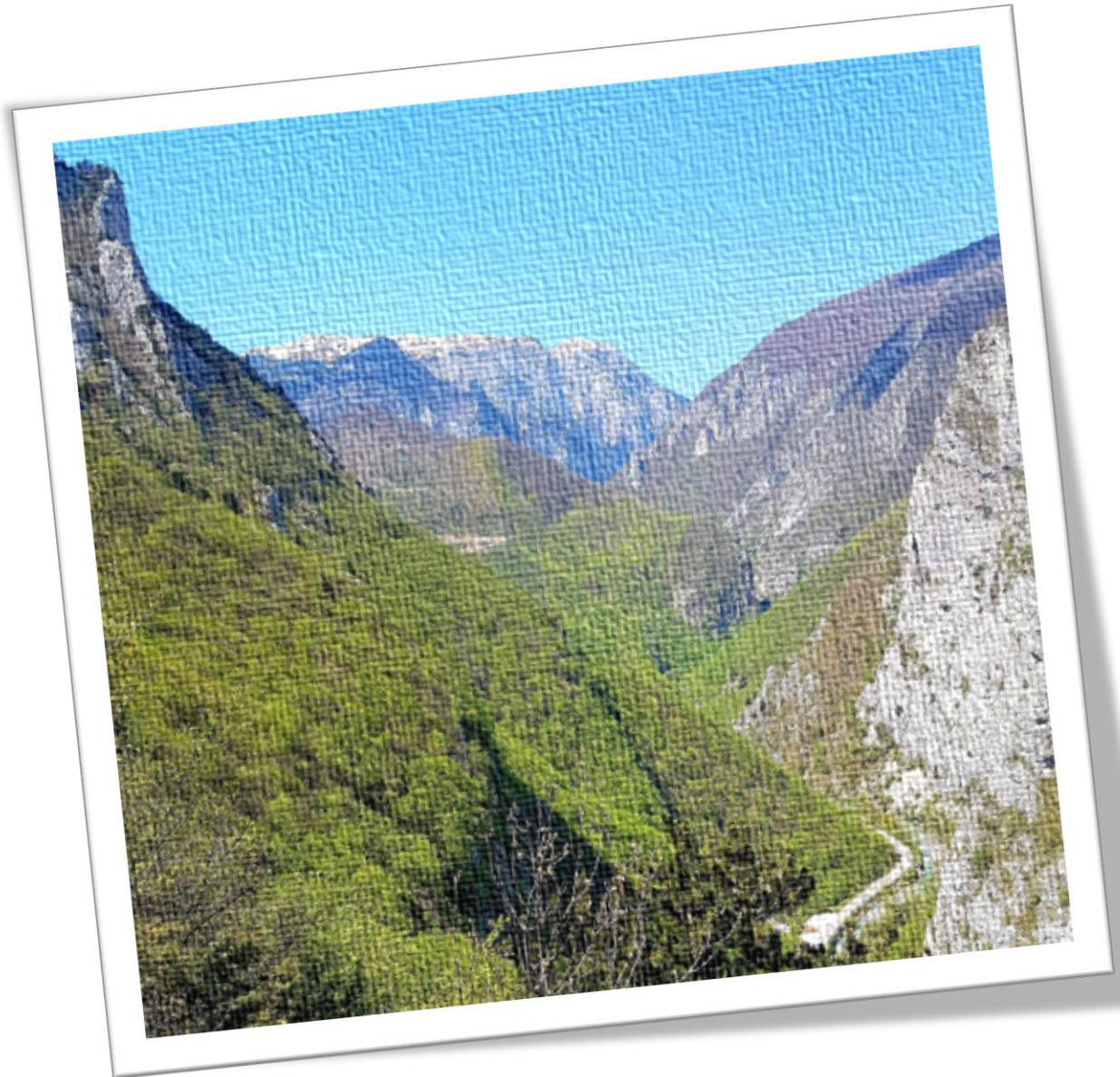


# The Duality of Discourse

## Conflict & Cooperation



Environmental Governance  
in Kosovo's Rugova Canyon

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*“Climate change is the single greatest threat to a sustainable future but, at the same time, addressing the climate challenge presents a golden opportunity to promote prosperity, security and a brighter future for all.”<sup>1</sup>*

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<sup>1</sup> “The Global Deal for Nature” on <https://www.globaldealfornature.org/>, accessed May 22, 2019.

## Prologue

*Driving between the mountains on a winding road, a clear blue sky above my head and a sparkling river streaming on my left side, this moment gives me the ultimate feeling of happiness. It is early April, and I am driving with my rented car through the Rugova Canyon in the west of Kosovo. The river Lumbardhi is created from wells in different parts of the Rugova Canyon. With its rapid flow intensity, the river separates the Canyon into two parts and creates magnificent views on caves, waterfalls and colossal rocks. However, as beautiful as it looks, after being here for two months, I now know that the Rugova Canyon is an area of struggle as well. You will find local communities concerned about land rights, a municipality struggling for better infrastructure, environmental activists striving for more environmental awareness, and a National government which has made the Canyon part of the 'Bjeshkët e Nemuna' National park since 2012, but still without a Spatial Plan.*

*When driving through the Canyon, besides the beauty of this National park, I see also this messiness, an area of contestation. The struggles of this mountainous area are embodied in a lot of trash alongside the road, a forest fire, new big hotels and restaurants being constructed, the construction of new roads, and trucks full of construction material with a very noisome exhaust. While driving through the Canyon, I am thinking: How can this area ever be governed in such a way that all stakeholders, including environmental activists, local communities, local governments, tourist companies, and the state, would agree with it? How can there ever be no struggle when there is so much at stake? <sup>2</sup>*

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<sup>2</sup> From Field notes of Gezina Lont, Peja, April 16, 2019.

## List of abbreviations

ERA	Environmentally Responsible Action group
EU	European Union
EULEX	European Union-led rule of law mission in Kosovo
KOSID	Kosovo Civil Society Consortium for Sustainable Development
MESP	Ministry of Environment and Spatial Planning
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
UNMIK	United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development



# Chapter 1: An introduction to the research

For doing research about environmental governance in Kosovo's Rugova Canyon, I aspired to know all the 'ins' and 'outs' of how the state of Kosovo relates to the environmental domain. Therefore, I read a diverse range of legal documents such as; the Law on Nature Protection, Report of the state of nature in Kosovo and, documents of Kosovo's Environmental Protection Agency. In one document I found a quote that intrigued me, a quote which focuses on the role of humanity in preserving nature. The quote especially grabbed my interest because exactly this role of humanity in preserving nature is where my thesis is all about. I found the quote in Kosovo's Strategic Action Plan for Biodiversity, wherein the Ministry of Environment and Spatial Planning (MESP) stated the following: "*Humans are part of nature's rich diversity and have power to protect or destroy it.*"<sup>3</sup> When reading that quote, I thought: Which side would Kosovo's government choose? Are they willing to protect their rich biodiversity, or are they more inclined to focus on economic profit with environmental degradation as a side effect?

This first chapter serves as an introductory chapter for delineating my research and research location. The research revolves around the topic of environmental governance in Kosovo's Rugova Canyon. In order to explain why I have chosen this topic, I first sketch my research location. I give information about the city where I stayed, about the Rugova Canyon, and about Kosovo. Thereafter, I describe the current state of environmental governance in Kosovo and in particular in the Rugova Canyon; I explain why it is useful to study environmental governance in the Rugova Canyon, and why I have chosen to use the theoretical concepts of 'hybridity', 'limited statehood', and 'discourse' for studying this. In order to complement the academic literature on these concepts and to approach them differently than has previously been done, I explain the method of doing research in the form of an interpretive ethnography that focuses on discourse. By focusing on discourse, this research offers an interpretation of how a certain discourse gives meaning, and creates the practices and conditions that shape the lives of all stakeholders involved in governing the Rugova Canyon.

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<sup>3</sup> Main message from the secretariat of the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) for the year 2010 to the world's decision makers cited by, and stated in MESP's Strategy Action Plan for Biodiversity on [https://www.ammk-rks.net/repository/docs/Strategy\\_and\\_Action\\_Plan\\_for\\_Biodiversity\\_2011-2020.pdf](https://www.ammk-rks.net/repository/docs/Strategy_and_Action_Plan_for_Biodiversity_2011-2020.pdf), accessed on May 6, 2019.

## **1.1 Research location**

For studying environmental governance in Kosovo's Rugova Canyon, I did three months of ethnographic fieldwork in the city of Peja. From February until May 2019, I lived there in an apartment close to the city centre. Peja is a city with approximately 48,962 inhabitants. It is part of its eponymous municipality and lays at the 'doorstep' of the Rugova Canyon in the west of Kosovo. From Peja, there is a road through the Rugova Canyon leading to the border with Montenegro. However, due to a border dispute between Kosovo and Montenegro, this border is currently closed.<sup>4</sup> In the Rugova Canyon, there are 13 villages. Two of them are inhabited all year round, and the rest only have residents in summer. Heavy snowfall in winter hinders the accessibility of the villages. Therefore, most of the Rugova inhabitants have a second house in Peja.<sup>5</sup> As I will explain later on in this chapter, choosing Peja as a location to stay during my research has helped me to interview and have conversations with a lot of stakeholders involved in governing the Rugova Canyon. Also, it gave me the opportunity to visit the Canyon several times by participating in projects and activities.

The Rugova Canyon is part of the Bjeshkët e Nemuna National park. Bjeshkët e Nemuna literally means 'the Accursed Mountains'. This National park covers a mountainous area in the west of Kosovo. The park was founded in 2012 and is 62,488 square kilometres in size. It closes the mountainous borders with Montenegro and Albania. The National park includes parts of the territories of five municipalities: Peja, Deçan, Istok, Junik, and Djakova (Parks Dinarides, n.d.).

Though the National park covers a big area, I chose to study only one part of it; the Rugova Canyon. The reason why I chose exactly that part of the National park will become clear after I have given some general information about Kosovo.

### **1.1.1 Kosovo**

In this section, I will outline a short historical account of Kosovo. This historical account will illustrate why Kosovo is an interesting country to study environmental governance, and will also provide crucial knowledge for understanding environmental governance in Kosovo as it is practiced today.

Environmental governance in Kosovo is specifically interesting since it must be viewed in the broader context of state-building and governance from the 2000 UN intervention. After the Kosovar war in 1998-99, which I will explain more extensive in chapter two, Kosovo has

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<sup>4</sup> From a conversation with a tour operator when driving through the Rugova Canyon, March 3, 2019.

<sup>5</sup> From an interview with a civil servant of the municipality of Peja, February 13, 2019.

been practically and financially administered and supported by external actors since 2000 (Obradovic-Wochnik and Dodds 2015). The United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) administered and built provisional government institutions in Kosovo. This provisional government of Kosovo declared Kosovo unilaterally an independent state on February 17, 2008 (Van der Borgh 2012).

Having declared its independence in 2008, Kosovo is one of the newest countries in the world (Taylor 2014). Though, Kosovo is not recognized as such by all countries worldwide.<sup>6</sup> This makes the Kosovar government facing many issues. Issues of sovereignty, nationhood, and minority rights are part of the governments' main focus in political debates. Because of that, environmental issues are less visible on Kosovo's political agenda (Obradovic-Wochnik and Dodds 2015, 940).

Proceedings such as the war in Kosovo and its declaration of independence in 2008, have caused a lack of governmental focus on environmental issues. Among other consequences, this has led to the case that the mountainous 'Bjeshkët e Nemuna' area in the west of Kosovo, which was already in the 1980s highly valued by scientists for its rich biodiversity, has only recently been declared a National park. Since the 1980s, dozens of scientific studies have been published by local and foreign scientists on this area. All these studies have reached one conclusion: this area needs protection and therefore deserves to be declared a National park (Veselaj 2015). Where first initiatives to declare 'Bjeshkët e Nemuna' a National park already started in 1970, eventually the law on the National park 'Bjeshkët e Nemuna' is adopted in 2012 by the general assembly of Kosovo (Veselaj and Mustafa 2015).

In the following section, I will outline what the law on the National park entails. This, to explain its influence on the current state of environmental governance in the Rugova Canyon.

### **1.1.2 National park 'Bjeshkët e Nemuna' and the Rugova Canyon**

The in 2012 adopted "Law on National Park 'Bjeshkët e Nemuna'",<sup>7</sup> consists of six articles. Its first article describes the law's purpose. It states that the law serves to value the area's rich characteristics, which have according to the law, scientific, educational, cultural-historical, and recreational-tourist importance. After that, a long description of the National park's boundaries is given in article two. The third article of the law is an important one for understanding current

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<sup>6</sup> 116 countries recognize Kosovo as an independent state. Data from <https://www.kosovothankyou.com/>, accessed on July 26, 2019

<sup>7</sup> Law No. 04/L-086 On National Park "Bjeshkët e Nemuna" approved by the Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo on December 13, 2012. <http://www.assembly-kosova.org/common/docs/ligjet/Law%20on%20National%20Park-%20Bjeshket%20e%20Nemuna.pdf>

practices that happen in the National park. This article states that the National park shall be divided into four zones. Zone one contains an area that belongs to the regime of strict protection. Zone two includes parts of the area that is characterized by landscape values and ecosystems where only activities are allowed that are not in contrast with the purpose of preservation. The third zone is an area where sustainable use is allowed. Zone four is a buffer zone, fifty meters from the border of the park, to prevent the park from adverse impacts. In the law, it is stated that the division of these zones throughout the National park's area will be made clear in its accompanying Spatial Plan. The last part of the law states that the park will be administered by a directorate, that property rights are regulated in another law, and it describes when the law will be in force.

One problem with the law on the National park is, that there is still no Spatial Plan. This means that it is unclear to everyone, what, where, when, and by whom things are allowed to happen in the park. Conditions for implementation of works, issuing construction permits, and interventions in the territory of the National park can only be completed when it is allowed by the Spatial Plan (Veselaj and Mustafa 2015). The reason why there is still no Spatial Plan for the area, remains questionable. The director of the National park told me that it has to do with Kosovo's border dispute with Montenegro. Kosovo and Montenegro are discussing about 8,000 hectares of land, which is currently part of the National park.<sup>8</sup> However, an environmental activist told me that the lack of a Spatial Plan has to do with 'certain groups of interest' who want to change or get rid of the law on the National park.<sup>9</sup> In accordance with that, another environmental activist and two civil servants of the municipality of Peja told me that it might be that the postponement of adopting the Spatial Plan gives time for 'groups of interest' to do more construction work and more investments in the area.<sup>10</sup>

Whereas it is a point of discussion why a Spatial Plan is lacking for the area, fact remains that its absence causes several practical problems, especially in the Rugova Canyon. Namely, the Canyon is one of the 'busiest' parts of the Bjeshkët e Nemuna National park. It has been inhabited for centuries, and it is known for its natural as well as touristic values. These characteristics make that there are a lot of stakeholders involved in governing the Rugova Canyon. Stakeholders such as tour operators, environmental activists, local villagers, civil servants of the municipality of Peja, and the directorate of the National park. One can imagine

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<sup>8</sup> From an interview with the Director of the National park, Peja, April 17, 2019.

<sup>9</sup> From an interview with an environmental activist, Peja, April 17, 2019.

<sup>10</sup> From an interview with an environmental activist via Skype between Pristina and Peja on April 13, 2019 and from an interview with two civil servants of the municipality of Peja, April 3, 2019.

that a lacking Spatial Plan brings confusion and struggles between all these diverse stakeholders. These struggles illustrate how difficult environmental governance is in a National park when there are many stakeholders involved (Obradovic-Wochnik and Dodds 2015; West, Igoe and Brockington 2006).

Struggles around governing the Rugova Canyon have mainly to do with conflicting ideas of diverse stakeholders. For instance, I have been told about a case where the municipality constructed a new road to create better infrastructure for its citizens and tourists, so that people could enjoy nature and spend money in hotels or restaurants. However, environmental activists were against that, claiming that there is no Spatial Plan and that an environmental impact assessment needs to be done first.<sup>11</sup>

Together with a lacking Spatial Plan for the area, the directorate of the park is left with little financial resources and human capacity (European Commission 2018). This results in the fact that there are still cases of significant degradation of Bjeshkët e Nemuna's territory. Activities such as illegal constructions, legal and illegal forest logging, forest fires, and illegal hunting are still practiced in the National park. When talking about these illegal practices, an environmental activist told me the following: *"It is very clear that the government has not the capacity to manage 60 thousand something hectares. Capacity, nor the will or the resources."*<sup>12</sup>

As much as there are struggles over governing the Canyon, I have also experienced a lot of cooperation between the diverse stakeholders. For example Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) working together with tourist companies to organize youth education programs, or civil servants of the municipality collecting waste in Rugova together with local communities and environmental activists.

The Rugova Canyon as an area with insufficient legislation, where illegal practices take place, and where there is a lot of disagreement as well as cooperation between stakeholders, all make the Canyon a dynamic and interesting area to study environmental governance. For trying to grasp and to understand all these dynamics of struggles and cooperation, I used the following question: *How and by whom is legitimacy created to govern environmental conservation as well as activities that possibly infringe on environmental conservation in Bjeshkët e Nemuna National Park in Kosovo, according to people who live in the Park, people who depend on the Park to sustain in their livelihoods and people environmentally engaged with the Park?*

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<sup>11</sup> Data from interviews I have done with two civil servants of the Municipality of Peja on April 3, 2019. Also this topic came up during a public debate in Peja, March 27, 2019. This debate was about environmental issues in Kosovo.

<sup>12</sup> From an interview with an environmental activist, Peja, April 17, 2019.

## **1.2 Theoretical concepts and relevance**

For answering the afore-described question, and to anticipate on existing research gaps in the literature, I have carefully chosen to make use of the theoretical concepts of ‘hybridity’, ‘limited statehood’, and ‘discourse’. In this section, I will briefly describe these concepts in order to substantiate this research’s theoretical relevance.

### **1.2.1 Environmental governance in the Rugova Canyon: an area of limited statehood**

As mentioned, environmental governance in the Rugova Canyon faces many issues; lack of a Spatial Plan, a directorate which is left with little financial resources and human capacity, and a lack of governmental focus on environmental matters. Being confronted with all these issues during my fieldwork, it raised the following questions for me: *What do these issues mean for governing the Rugova Canyon? What is necessary for people to govern a certain area? And how can the Canyon be governed without a legal basis (i.e. Spatial Plan)?* Approaching environmental governance in the Rugova Canyon as an area of limited statehood has helped me to answer these questions.

In short, the concept of limited statehood is explained by Börzel and Risse (2010, 118-19) as *“those parts of a country in which central authorities (governments) lack the ability to implement and enforce rules and decisions or in which the legitimate monopoly over the means of violence is lacking, or both, at least temporarily.”* In chapter two, I will clearly outline what this concept of limited statehood means, and how it has proven to be helpful for making sense of environmental governance in such a complex and dynamic socio-political atmosphere.

### **1.2.2 Hybridity in environmental governance**

It is argued by Lemos and Agrawal (2006) that current debates on environmental governance fall short of addressing the multi-scalar and complex character of environmental problems. While these debates focus on pure modes of governance, where it is believed that only market or state actors determine what is allowed and what is not in a natural area, Lemos and Agrawal (2006) want to get rid of such an approach. According to them, environmental governance is nowadays much more practiced by a diverse range of stakeholders at one and the same time. No one has a specific leading role. Therefore, Lemos and Agrawal (2006) opt for broadening the academic view on environmental governance; they coined the concept of ‘hybrid forms of environmental governance’.

Hybrid forms of environmental governance go across and between the market-state-community divisions. Lemos and Agrawal (2006, 300) distinguish between the following forms of hybrid environmental governance: “*co-management, public-private partnerships, and social-private partnerships.*” I will explain these forms of hybrid environmental governance more extensively in chapter two of this thesis. For now, it is important to mention that I will use this concept of hybridity to study environmental governance in the Rugova Canyon. I do this, because the concept of hybrid environmental governance perfectly encompasses the current governmental condition of the Rugova Canyon.

By providing empirical examples of hybrid forms of environmental governance, I will answer questions like: *In what way is governance practiced in the Rugova Canyon? What actors are involved, and what do they want to achieve? What are the consequences or results of the current state of environmental governance in the Rugova Canyon?*

### **1.2.3 Discourse orientation**

In order to study hybrid forms of environmental governance, I have chosen to approach them by focusing on discourse. Whereas ‘discourse’ is a broad concept and can be studied in many different ways, I only use the ideas on discourse from the French historian and philosopher Michel Foucault.

The concept of ‘discourse’ has been used in a wide array of research concerned with text, language, and signs (Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine 2017). In anthropology, ‘discourse’ was mostly studied in linguistic anthropology (Bucholtz 2001). However, Bucholtz (2001) argues that discourse analysis should not be limited to linguistic anthropology but can be broadened by using it together with Foucault’s ideas on discourse. Because then it has the potential to embellish the study of culture more broadly (2001; also argued by Blommaert and Bulcaen 2000). Namely, Foucault takes discourse other than a linguistic category. He takes more the social as a prolific source of meaning (Kress 2012). He argues the following: “[...] *since all social practices entail meaning, and meanings shape and influence what we do – our conduct – all practices have a discursive aspect*” (Hall 1992, 291).

In this research, I approach environmental governance by focusing on discourse because it helps to explain how environmental governance is possible in an area of limited statehood. Where one can argue that this approach limits this research’s scope, I argue that my aim for focusing on discourse is not to claim or capture the truth, but to offer an interpretation, to investigate meaning, practices and conditions that shape people’s lives (Bucholtz 2001; Banister et al. 1994 in Taylor 2001).

#### **1.2.4 Theoretical relevance**

Hybrid forms of environmental governance are new forms of environmental governance and have therefore only recently been studied (Lemos and Agrawal 2006). As Rana and Chhatre (2017, 41) state, there are still limited studies on what kind of hybrid forms of environmental governance work in practice: *“Neither, there are any practical examples available that can shed light on how and under what conditions hybridity may perform better than a single mode of governance.”*

In order to complement the theory about hybrid forms of environmental governance, and to fill the existing research gap on what hybrid forms of environmental governance work in practice, I will describe what hybrid forms of environmental governance look like, and how they take shape in the Rugova Canyon as an area with limited statehood. Above that, I will approach the study of hybrid environmental governance different than has previously been done, by using Michel Foucault’s ideas on discourse. This approach serves to broaden the academic perspective on hybrid forms of environmental governance.

#### **1.3 Methodology and operationalization**

By staying in the city of Peja during my fieldwork, I had the opportunity to meet many stakeholders involved in governing the Rugova Canyon. This, because in the city there is the municipal building and the office of the directorate of the National park. As I will describe further on in this thesis, both the municipality as well as the directorate of the National park are involved a lot in governing the Rugova Canyon. Besides them, tour operators who provide tourist activities in the Rugova Canyon, live in the city of Peja. Also, a local environmental organization called: Environmentally Responsible Action group (ERA), has its office in the city of Peja.

The NGO ‘ERA’ has helped me for doing research about environmental governance in the Rugova Canyon. ERA’s goal is *“to promote and increase environmental consciousness, awareness, and responsibility amongst the youth and community of Kosovo in order to protect, conserve and promote the region’s natural and cultural heritage.”*<sup>13</sup> By organizing activities like hiking, camping, and giving workshops about the environment, the organization wants to achieve this goal. ERA runs like a thread through my three months of doing fieldwork in Peja. Thanks to their hospitality, I have spent a lot of days in their office; reading articles, transcribing interviews, and sometimes helping them with administrative duties. As I did not speak

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<sup>13</sup> Quote from an information folder about ERA (n.d.), last read on July 4, 2019.



Albanian, I had conversations and interviews with them, and other research participants, in English. And when necessary, people translated things for me.

ERA gave me the opportunity to contribute to activities they organized. In this way, ERA has served as a kind of gatekeeper for me to get access into the field. This made me use the research strategy of ‘snowball sampling’ (O’Reilly 2012). By contributing to their projects, going with them to radio interviews, attending their meetings with journalists and ministers, ERA has helped me to generate more and more contacts that were useful for my research.

By being as much as possible with my research participants for an extended period of three months, I used an interpretive approach to ethnography (Smart 2012). Interpretive ethnography is defined by Clifford Geertz as “*a methodology that enables a researcher to study the discourse practices through which a particular social group constructs, maintains, and reproduces a shared social world*” (Smart 2012, 148). According to Geertz, the researcher has to spend a prolonged period of time in the group under study for practicing interpretive ethnography. Together with that, he argues that the ethnographer has to do this as a participant observer (Smart 2012).

*“Participant observation involves participating in people’s daily lives over a period of time, observing, asking questions, taking notes and collecting other forms of data”* (O’Reilly 2012, 113). For doing this, I have participated in projects of ERA, hiked in Rugova, and made friends in the city of Peja. This helped me to see and experience what is going on in the Rugova Canyon myself, and how certain citizens of Peja relate to the Canyon. During the activities, I had informal conversations with the people I met. This provided me with a lot of information additionally to the interviews. Sometimes, I asked someone for an interview later on, as a follow-up to the conversation we had. During the activities and after the activities, I took notes. Describing what I saw, felt, and heard, helped me to interpret and to reflect on myself, and all the information I got (O’Reilly 2005).

In total, I have done fourteen interviews. All the interviews were in English. As not all my research participants spoke English, I made use of three helpful people whom I had met along the way of doing research. Each of these three persons, served as an interpreter during three different interviews. All the interviews I did were semi-structured. I made use of fixed questions which I asked to every interviewee, and I made use of topics. Topics that I wanted to address during the interviews and which could differ per interview (O’Reilly 2005). During seven of the interviews, I have taken notes. The others, I have recorded with my smartphone and transcribed afterwards. The reason why I did not always record the interviews was either because there was too much background noise – because the interview was in a café –, or

because I wanted to keep the interview as informal as possible to put at ease the interviewee. I interviewed tour operators, local environmental activists, villagers from Rugova, people working for national and international (environmental) organizations, civil servants of the municipality of Peja, and people from the directory of the National park. The locations of the interviews differed. Most of them are done in Peja, and some in Pristina. Either in people's offices or in a café. I did one interview via Skype.

By making use of several research methods, such as participant observation and interviewing, I made use of the technique of 'triangulation'. This is "*a technique designed to compare and contrast different types of methods to help provide more comprehensive insights into the phenomenon under study*" (Reeves et al. 2008, 340). Triangulation has been very helpful for grasping as much as possible the lived reality of my research participants. Because sometimes what people say about their actions can differ from their actual behaviour (Reeves et al. 2008).

In this thesis, I often provide a detailed, or so called 'thick description' of the research. Geertz argues that 'thick description' is the ultimate aim of interpretive ethnography. Thick description is an ethnographic account revealing a quasi-insider's understanding of how the research participants communicate, what they value and believe, how they define common problems, and how they produce and exercise knowledge (Smart 2012). I offer such a description by illustrating my own lived experiences in short vignettes and by outlining or quoting parts of interviews and informal conversations. For the sake of anonymizing my research participants, I will refer to them not by name or exact function, but I divide them into the following categories: tour operators, environmental activists, civil servants, and local citizens. A comprehensive explanation to this categorization of the research participants, can be found in appendix one of this document.

#### **1.4 Structure**

In this introductory chapter, I have broadly described where my research is about and how I am going to approach the studied topics in this thesis. In short, in this thesis I will show how hybrid forms of environmental governance take shape in an area of limited statehood. Thereby, I will study these hybrid forms of environmental governance through Foucault's ideas on discourse.

Chapters two and three of this document are largely theoretical. In those chapters, I explain the theoretical concepts I use and outline how they help me to construct my argument. Chapter two is about governance. First, I outline governance in general in Kosovo. Then, I zoom in to the domain of environmental governance in Kosovo. Thereafter, I will construct my

argument for how hybrid forms of environmental governance are possible in an area of limited statehood. To further proceed on this argument, chapter three is about discourse. What I mean by discourse, how a discourse is lived upon and talked about by my research participants, and how I will study it.

Chapters four and five of this thesis are largely filled with empirical found data. In chapter four I illustrate how I have seen, heard, and experienced a certain discourse being talked about and lived upon. In chapter five, I will highlight another aspect of discourse. Not only that it can lead to cooperation and forms of governance, like outlined in chapter four, but that a discourse has power, power for resistance.

## Chapter 2: Governing without government

In this chapter, I will place the current governmental condition of Kosovo in a broader perspective. I do this, by drafting a brief historical account of governance in Kosovo. The fact that Kosovo is quite recently, in 2008, declared an independent state, provides crucial information for understanding Kosovo's current state of governance. It explains for instance why environmental governance in Kosovo can be viewed as an area of limited statehood. I will clarify this concept of limited statehood and will outline what it means for governing the Rugova Canyon.

### 2.1 Governance in Kosovo

*Field notes March 21, 2019. "Kosovo vs. Denmark Football match."*

*Today, I have been visiting Pristina. In the beginning of the afternoon, I had an interview with someone from the Balkan Green Foundation. After that, I had an appointment with my landlord to catch up and also to pay the rent for the month March which I still needed to pay. At around 5 pm, I was walking with him in Pristina close to the stadium. As I knew there was the Kosovo vs. Denmark football match this evening, I asked him whether he would go to support the Kosovar football team. He replied by saying: "No. It just feels kind of strange to support a football team with a flag which I feel not fully related to, and singing a national anthem – without text- where I also feel no real connection with." This answer made me realize, and internally feel, how strange it must be to live in a 'new-born' country...*

From 1918, Kosovo was part of Yugoslavia. In 1963, Kosovo became an autonomous province of Yugoslavia's biggest republic; Serbia. The Yugoslav regime gave the territory of Kosovo a type of autonomy which came in the 1970s close to reaching equal status with the other federal units of Yugoslavia. However, Serbia's revanchist drive to reassert control heavily decreased Kosovo's autonomy. Under Milosevic's authority from 1989 until 1999, Serbia reversed or halted the most repulsive policies of this previous Yugoslav regime (Malcolm 2002). Where in

Kosovo the ethnic majority were Muslim Albanians, Serbia refused to recognize the rights of this majority. They began to repress the Albanian language, schools, radio, and participation in public life. This, to obstruct Albanian nationalism in the early 1990s in Kosovo. Eventually, the tensions between the Serbs and Albanians in Kosovo accelerated into a bloody and violent war from February 1998 until June 1999. In March 1999, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) decided to intervene by carrying out bombing missions in Serbia. These missions eventually led to the withdrawal of Serbian troops from Kosovo (Judah 2008).

Following the 1998-99 war, Kosovo has been practically and financially administered and supported by external actors since 2000 (Obradovic-Wochnik and Dodds 2015). In the years after NATO's bombing missions in Serbia, UNMIK administered, and built provisional government institutions in Kosovo.

Albeit not uncontested, the provisional government of Kosovo declared Kosovo unilaterally an independent state on February 17, 2008 (Van der Borgh 2012). Judah (2008, 145) puts forward that a declaration of independence presumably means that *"the last word on governing the country should lie with the members of its elected government."* However, the declaration of the Assembly of Kosovo read otherwise: *"We invite and welcome an international civilian presence to supervise our implementation of the Ahtisaari Plan, and a European Union-led rule of law mission"*<sup>14</sup> (Judah 2008, 145). Elaborating on this Ahtisaari Plan and European Union-led rule of law mission (EULEX), would not serve the purpose of this text. Though, I describe this part of the declaration to show that declaring Kosovo's independence, by Kosovo Albanians, certainly not meant 'no external involvement'. The reality of Kosovo's state-building meant the involvement of several external organizations and actors. Most of them are still present in Kosovo (Schneckener 2011 in Obradovic-Wochnik and Dodds 2015).

Kosovo's declaration of independence has served the continued presence of external actors. This external involvement has significant effects on governance in Kosovo. Also, the fact that Kosovo is still not recognized as an independent state by the whole international community affects governance in Kosovo. How this both impacts governance in Kosovo, I will explain in the next paragraph by focusing on the sector of environmental governance.

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<sup>14</sup> The Ahtisaari Plan is the Comprehensive Proposal for the Kosovo Status Settlement written by the UN Special Envoy Martti Ahtisaari. The Plan is primarily focused on protecting the identity, culture, and rights of Kosovo's non-Albanian communities (Judah 2008). The overall aim of the European Union-led rule of law mission is to assist Kosovo's authorities in establishing independent and sustainable rule of law institutions (Judah 2008).

## 2.2 Environmental governance in Kosovo: an area of limited statehood

The developing form of environmental governance in Kosovo is very much dependent on external actors. This is best visible in the case of the European Union (EU). For instance, to fit within the framework of EU integration, the government of Kosovo is obliged to comply with EU's demands. This largely means that Kosovo needs to meet EU environmental rules and norms. When they do not meet these rules and norms, sanctions such as denial of EU membership can be applied by the EU. However, since Kosovo still does not seize full international recognition, environmental issues are not the governments' main focus. Issues of sovereignty, nationhood, and minority rights are more apparent in political debates. This results in the case that environmental governance in Kosovo appears in a highly institutionalized model, but on paper only (Obradovic-Wochnik and Dodds 2015). “[...] *domestic actors frequently ‘go through the motions’ of compliance whilst neglecting normative change*” (Subotic 2009, 167 in Obradovic-Wochnik and Dodds 2015, 941). The Law on Environmental Protection is an illustrative example of that.

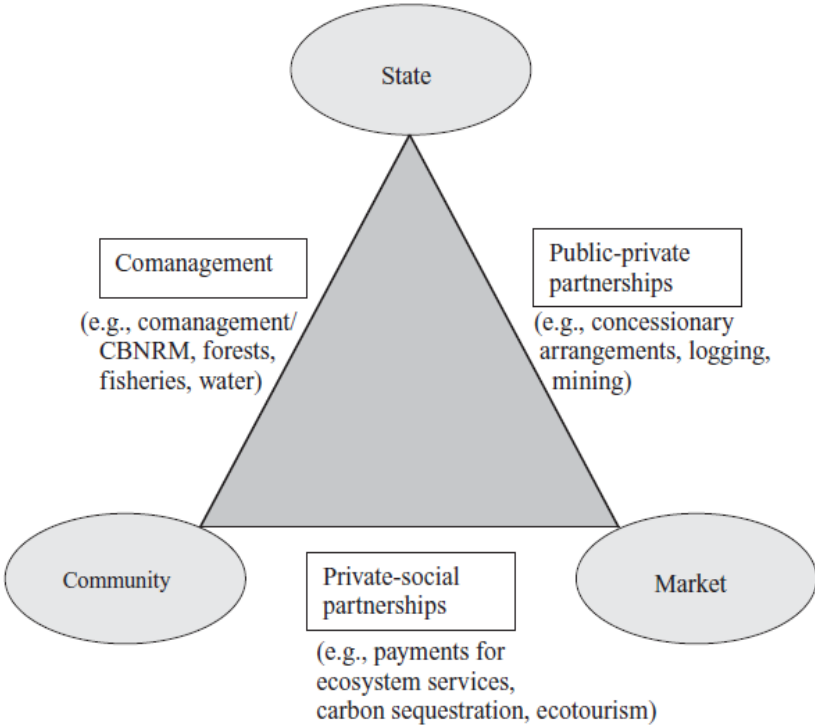
The 2009 Law on Environmental Protection, explicitly stipulates “*that the government will ‘adapt the legal requests and procedures’ on environment and sustainable development to fit with the EU environmental acquis*” (Obradovic-Wochnik and Dodds 2015, 942). Whereas with the adoption of this law a significant increase in the number of protected areas in Kosovo has occurred, however, progress in implementation of this law is moving slowly. For instance, the lack of management institutions is a big problem. Only four of the 116 protected areas feature a management institution. This lack of management can for example be seen in the poor protection of National parks. Practices such as illegal forest logging, construction works without permits, forest fires, and illegal hunting, are still exercised in National parks (Veselaj and Mustafa 2015).

Environmental issues are largely neglected by domestic state actors in Kosovo, and there is a lack of capacity to implement and enforce laws that address environmental issues. This all can be placed under the conceptual framework of environmental governance as ‘an area of limited statehood’. The concept of areas with limited statehood is coined by Börzel and Risse (2010, 118-19) who define areas of limited statehood as “*those parts of a country in which central authorities (governments) lack the ability to implement and enforce rules and decisions or in which the legitimate monopoly over the means of violence is lacking, or both, at least temporarily.*” They argue that limited statehood can occur in four domains; territorial, social (i.e. regarding specific parts the population), sectoral (i.e. regarding specific policy areas), and

temporal. As I have described, in Kosovo’s policy area of environmental governance there is both a lack of governmental focus and a lack of capacity to implement and enforce laws that address environmental issues. Because of that, I argue that environmental governance in Kosovo is an area of limited statehood. How this works out in practice, and what it implies for governance in the Rugova Canyon, I will explain in the next sections.

**2.3 Governance in an area of limited statehood**

By drawing from the conclusions of Börzel and Risse’s (2010) research on ‘how much state is necessary for governance to work’, I will explain in what way governance is possible in an area of limited statehood. For doing this, I will first clarify the concept of ‘hybrid environmental governance’. This, to show what forms of environmental governance I have experienced myself in the Rugova Canyon. After that, I will outline Börzel and Risse’s (2010) argumentation of how governance is possible in such an area of limited statehood.



**Figure 1:** Hybrid forms of environmental governance. Abbreviation: CBNRM, community-based natural resource management (Lemos and Agrawal 2006, 310).

### 2.3.1 Hybrid environmental governance in the Rugova Canyon

Figure 1 shows a schematic structure, composed by Lemos and Agrawal (2006, 310), that illustrates hybrid forms of environmental governance. As mentioned in the introductory chapter of this thesis, hybrid forms of environmental governance are types of environmental governance that transcend state structures in which businesses, communities, NGOs, and states share responsibility for conservation (Igoe & Brockington 2007; Duffy 2006). In their article about environmental governance, Lemos and Agrawal (2006, 311) outline that hybrid forms of environmental governance mainly evolve, connect, and transcend the core triangle of state, market, and community. Out of that, they identify three major forms of hybrid environmental governance: “*comanagement (between state agencies and communities), public-private partnerships (between state agencies and market actors), and private-social partnerships (between market actors and communities).*”

In the Rugova Canyon, I have seen and experienced these hybrid forms of environmental governance. I will illustrate how such a hybrid form of environmental governance takes shape by outlining some field notes.

*Field notes March 3, 2019. “Trekking in the Rugova Canyon as part of the project: ‘Connecting Rural Youth Across Borders’.”*

*Today is the second day of the project ‘Connecting Rural Youth Across Borders’. This project is initiated by the environmental NGO ‘ERA’ (Environmentally Responsible Action group) in cooperation with an Albanian NGO ‘VIS’ (Volontariato Internazionale per lo Sviluppo) and the University of Peja. Yesterday, was the first day of the project. During that day, we attended a workshop about the environment at the University of Peja. Today, I am going with the same group of youth as yesterday, on a trekking in the Rugova Canyon. The group consists of youth from both Kosovo and Albania.*

*At 9 am, we had to be at the hotel ‘Camp Karagaq’ in Peja. A hotel where we also had a lunch buffet yesterday, and where the Albanian youth have spent the night. When I arrived at the hotel, already a lot of people were waiting there. Several cars were standing outside. All marked with a label from the local tourist organization ‘Outdoor Kosovo’. At about 9.15 we left. I was*



*sitting in front of one of the 'Outdoor Kosovo' cars, next to the tour operator of 'Outdoor Kosovo'. He would guide the trekking for today. On our way, we picked up a local villager of Rugova. The tour operator told me that the man had a house close to the starting point of the trekking. They had made an arrangement together, that 'Outdoor Kosovo' could park their cars on his property. In exchange, people from 'Outdoor Kosovo' maintain his garden and keep his property nice. After a quick stop, we drove further. Our trip was about to begin!*

These field notes clearly show the intertwined networks of the by Lemos and Agrawal (2006) identified co-management, public-private, and private-social partnerships; a state-owned university working together with NGOs from different countries, who in their turn work together with private owned tourist companies and catering services, who also cooperate with local communities.

By describing an example of how I have seen and experienced environmental governance being practiced in the Rugova Canyon, I have illustrated in what way governance can take shape in an area of limited statehood. But what theories underlie these forms of governance? How are hybrid forms of environmental governance possible when environmental governance is a sector which is largely neglected by Kosovo's government? And also, how are these forms of governance possible when the lack of a Spatial Plan hinders people from knowing what is legally allowed in the Canyon? In the next sections I will use Börzel and Risse's (2010) findings to answer these questions.

#### **2.4 Governance: hierarchical and non-hierarchical**

In their search for 'how much state is necessary for governance to work', Börzel and Risse (2010, 114) use Mayntz's (2004; 2009) definition of 'governance': "*the various institutionalized modes of social coordination to produce and implement collectively binding rules, or to provide collective goods.*" By using this definition, they make a distinction between hierarchical and non-hierarchical forms of governance. Hierarchical forms of governance "*take the form of authoritative decisions with claims to legitimacy.*" This means that decisions for collectively binding rules or the provision of collective goods are taken hierarchically, based on institutionalized relations of subordination and domination. One has to listen to the demands and orders of the other because it is stated as such in legal documents like laws. Non-hierarchical forms of governance are "*based on voluntary commitment and compliance*" where

*“no actor is subject to the command of others.”* These forms of governance include non-state actors and mean that people negotiate with each other to form compromise and to grant mutual concessions.

Where Börzel and Risse make the distinction between hierarchical and non-hierarchical modes of governance, they argue that the two are often not separated. Non-hierarchical forms of governance are, according to them, often embedded in hierarchical frameworks; a ‘shadow of hierarchy’. A shadow of hierarchy *“means that the state threatens – explicitly or implicitly – to impose binding rules or laws on private actors in order to change their cost-benefit calculations in favour of a voluntary agreement closer to the common good rather than to particularistic self-interest”* (Börzel and Risse 2010, 115). As an example, Börzel and Risse outline the case of telecommunication, where regulatory agencies strictly monitor competition and pricing of private telecom firms for making sure that they provide services of adequate quality. This example shows that a shadow of hierarchy is important for governance to work, because it creates important incentives for cooperation between non-state actors.

Where the insights into the shadow of hierarchy largely come from countries that have the benefit of consolidated statehood (Börzel and Risse 2010), the question remains what happens with governance in areas of limited statehood such as environmental governance in Kosovo’s Rugova Canyon.

According to my findings, in the Rugova Canyon there are hybrid forms of environmental governance practiced without a strong ‘shadow of hierarchy’. Also, Börzel and Risse (2010) find this ‘governance without a state’ to be a widespread phenomenon in areas of limited statehood. For instance when western development agencies, NGOs, or firms are engaged in areas of limited statehood; where they provide services in the areas of development, public health, and the environment (Beisheim et al. 2008; Liese and Beisheim 2010 in Börzel and Risse 2010). To clarify this, Börzel and Risse argue that there are functional equivalents to the shadow of hierarchy, which cause governance to work, even without a strong shadow of hierarchy.

Drawing from Börzel and Risse’s findings, I argue that the hybrid forms of environmental governance in the Rugova Canyon are based on such a *“functional equivalent to the shadow of hierarchy cast by a strong state”* (Börzel and Risse 2010, 114).

#### **2.4.1 Functional equivalents to the ‘shadow of hierarchy’**

Börzel and Risse (2010) define some social mechanisms that serve as equivalents to the ‘shadow of hierarchy’. Those equivalents, as they argue, can be based on two logics; the first one is the logic of consequences, and the second one is the logic of appropriateness. The logic of consequences means that utility-maximizing and self-interested actors are presumably to assist in governance if they are constrained by actors embedded in institutional settings or given the right incentives. As an example, Börzel and Risse outline the case of HIV in South Africa. Multinational companies in the car industry in South Africa need skilled and healthy labourers, but there is no functioning healthcare system. In such a case, companies are providing health and education services themselves. Companies’ self-interest in human capital serves here as a strong incentive to engage in education and health governance where there is no functioning state (Thauer 2009; Müller-Debus 2010 in Börzel and Risse 2010, 121). The second logic, the logic of appropriateness, means that actors are embedded in structures that induce them to follow social rules or to ‘do the right thing’. For example, when NGO’s “*launch international campaigns naming and shaming companies that do not contribute to the provision of common goods in areas of limited statehood*” (2010, 124). Börzel and Risse (2010) argue that governance in areas of limited statehood can be based on one of the two logics or on both.

In line with Börzel and Risse’s findings, I argue that hybrid forms of environmental governance in the Rugova Canyon are practiced on both logics; the logic of consequences and the logic of appropriateness. I will explain this argument in the following section.

#### **2.4.2 Equivalents to the ‘shadow of hierarchy’ for governing the Rugova Canyon**

Functional equivalents to developed statehood and its corresponding shadow of hierarchy have to provide sufficient motivation for actors to join in the provision of collective goods (Börzel and Risse 2010). According to that, I argue that the discourse of ‘sustainable development’ serves as a functional equivalent to the shadow of hierarchy for governing the Rugova Canyon. Based on both the logic of consequences and the logic of appropriateness, the discourse of ‘sustainable development’ makes environmental governance possible in the Rugova Canyon. In the following chapters, I will dig deeper into this discourse of ‘sustainable development’ and will outline more extensively how the discourse makes environmental governance in the Rugova Canyon possible. In this section, I will explain in what way I approach hybrid forms of environmental governance in the Rugova Canyon as being based on the logic of consequences and the logic of appropriateness.

As explained before, there is a lack of governmental focus on governing the Rugova Canyon. One consequence of that, is that hiking trails in the Canyon are not properly maintained. Where private actors such as tour operators could choose to work only in favour of their own economic benefit because of a lacking ‘shadow of hierarchy’, they instead work in favour of the common good. Namely, based on their shared incentive of wanting tourists to visit the Canyon for creating sustainable development for the area, tour operators of diverse tourist organizations cooperate in maintaining the hiking trails themselves.<sup>15</sup> Where their form of governing the area thus relies on shared incentives – i.e. sustainable development – there is no need for a state threatening to impose binding rules or laws. So, in this way, the maintenance of hiking trails can be seen as a form of governance based on the logic of consequences.

Though the discourse of ‘sustainable development’ is quite strong in operating as a functional equivalent to the shadow of hierarchy, it certainly does not work for all stakeholders involved in governing the Rugova Canyon. For instance, big wood companies are not operating for the common good. By illegally clear-cutting large pieces of land,<sup>16</sup> it can be argued that they more value economic benefits for their particularistic self-interest than protecting the environment for the common good. Whereas on the one hand these activities infringe on environmental governance in the Rugova Canyon, on the other hand this ‘clear-cutting’ encourages hybrid forms of governance.

A lot of people I spoke to, argued that deforestation is a big issue in the Rugova Canyon and should be stopped, to make the Rugova Canyon liveable for next generations.<sup>17</sup> Where many people believe that deforestation is harmful for the Rugova Canyon, this generates the existence of hybrid forms of environmental governance. For example, by celebrating ‘International Earth Day’ on Monday the 23th of April, the directorate of the National park planted several trees in cooperation with the University of Peja. Also, during an activity of the NGO ‘ERA’, on April 27, 2019, a lot of trees were planted in the Rugova Canyon. These examples show, that governance in the Rugova Canyon also exists based on the logic of appropriateness. By considering the activity of planting trees as ‘doing the right thing’, planting trees has become a social norm among some stakeholders, who then cooperate in these hybrid forms of governance.

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<sup>15</sup> Information obtained from a tourist guide during a hike in the Rugova Canyon on April 20, 2019.

<sup>16</sup> From an interview with an environmental activist, Peja, April 17, 2019.

<sup>17</sup> From an interview with the director of the National park, Peja, April 17, 2019. From an interview with a tour operator, Peja, March 3, 2019. And from an interview with an environmental activist, Peja, February 26, 2019.



**Figure 2:** Planting trees in the Rugova Canyon as part of the “Connecting Rural Youth Across Borders Project” of ERA. Photo taken on April 27, 2019.

In this chapter, I have outlined why the Rugova Canyon is currently governed in the way it is. First, I have given a brief historical background of governance in Kosovo. The war and the process of state-building have left their traces in creating a government substantially responsive to external incentives. After that, I have outlined in what way this causes the fact that environmental governance in the Rugova Canyon can be considered an area of limited statehood. For arguing in what way governance is still possible in such an area, I used Börzel and Risse’s (2010) findings. By explaining their definition of governance, including the division between hierarchical and non-hierarchical forms of governance, and the concept of a ‘shadow of hierarchy’, I illustrated that when a state fails to implement and enforce rules, non-hierarchical forms of governance need a functional equivalent to the ‘shadow of hierarchy’. For governing the Rugova Canyon, this means that hybrid forms of environmental governance can be explained by stating that the discourse of ‘sustainable development’ serves as a functional

equivalent to the shadow of hierarchy. By giving empirical examples, I have argued that the discourse of sustainable development serves as a functional equivalent to the shadow of hierarchy based on both the logic of consequences as well as the logic of appropriateness. In the next chapter, I will elaborate more on the discourse of sustainable development by using Michel Foucault's theories on discourse.

## Chapter 3: Sustainable development, a discourse

In the previous chapter, I have argued that hybrid forms of environmental governance in the Rugova Canyon are possible because they are constructed around the discourse of ‘sustainable development’, which serves as a functional equivalent to the shadow of hierarchy. In this chapter, I will explain what is meant with discourse, how it can be studied, and what theories I use to study the discourse of ‘sustainable development’. Furthermore, I will clarify ‘sustainable development’; where it comes from and how it serves as a discourse.

### 3.1 Discourse analysis

The way in which language is used by people serves different purposes. The function of using language is not only to communicate information, but also to support the production of social activities and identities (Gee 2005). For instance, when a wedding official says “*I declare you husband and wife*”, he or she is not just communicating something to them, he or she is marrying them. This is what discourse is; it means language in use. And to study discourse means to study the meanings people give to language and the actions they carry out when they use language in particular contexts (Gee and Handford 2012).

In anthropology, discourse is often studied in the form of ‘linguistic discourse analyses within linguistic anthropology (Bucholtz 2001). Linguistic anthropology is a sub-discipline in anthropology that “*studies language in its social and cultural context, across space and over time*” (Kottak 2015, 10). But, as linguist Mary Bucholtz (2001) argues, discourse analysis should not be limited to linguistic anthropology. According to her, discourse analysis can be more effective within anthropology in general. Therefore, Bucholtz demonstrates “*that a critical and reflexive discourse analysis must necessarily be an anthropological sensitive discourse analysis: one that is cognizant of power, context, history and agency*” (Bucholtz 2001, 181).

In this thesis, I will outline a discourse analysis that is conscious of power, context, history, and agency. For doing this, I will use the theories on discourse from the French historian and philosopher Michel Foucault. Why I do this, and what his theories are, I will describe in the following sections.

### 3.2 Foucauldian discourse analysis

Already since the 70s, the term 'discourse' has been used in a wide array of research concerned with text, language, and signs (Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine 2017). However, Foucault's thoughts on discourse as the production of knowledge are other than a linguistic category. Foucault states that all social practices should be understood via discursive construction, all objects or events are actually constructed by discourses. Foucault's aim here, shared by the British sociologist Anthony Giddens, is to move beyond structuralism (Diez 1999).

Structuralism is a collective name for a number of interdisciplinary methods, which state that there are subconsciously functioning cultural systems which largely determine everyday life. It approaches human behaviour in a way that there are structures underlying all things humans feel, think, and perceive (Olssen 2003). Foucault and Giddens move beyond structuralism by arguing that structure, as well as human agency, are mutually dependent on each other (Diez 1999). Structures are in their view always reconsidered by people and thereby transformed (Ashley 1989 in Diez 1999). Though they both agree on that, and both put emphasis on human practice, Foucault adds to this theory the importance of language. Foucault argues that reality cannot be understood outside discourse (Diez 1999). Cultural theorist Stuart Hall In his book "*Formations of Modernity*", explains Foucault's view on discourse in the following way:

Foucault sees discourse as "*a group of statements which provides a language for talking about – a way of representing the knowledge about – a particular topic at a particular historical moment... Discourse is about the production of knowledge through language. But... since all social practices entail meaning, and meanings shape and influence what we do – our conduct – all practices have a discursive aspect*" (Hall 1992, 291).

This definition of Foucault's thoughts on discourse, show how he re-conceptualizes the duality of structure and agency; "*Although it is 'we' who impose meaning, 'we' do not act as autonomous subjects but form a 'subject position' made available by the discursive context in which we are situated*" (Foucault 1991, 58 in Diez 1999). Here, on the one hand, it is this discursive context surrounding each subject position which makes the latter possible, while on the other hand, the context itself relies for its reproduction on these subject positions (Diez 1999).



Foucault's view on discourse leads to a reformulation of agency of the subject. He argues that the subject is quite capable to resist existing power structures (Caldwell 2007). This notion is important for my further inquiries on the function of the discourse of 'sustainable development' in governing the Rugova Canyon. Namely, the practical examples I will give in the following chapters will focus on how people position themselves to the discourse of 'sustainable development' and how this discourse is certainly not rigid but through different subject positions contested and changeable. In the next section, I will illustrate, by giving an empirical example, how such a subject position appears.

*"It is the discursive web surrounding each articulation that makes the latter possible, on the one hand, while the web itself, on the other hand, relies on its reproduction through these articulations."*<sup>18</sup>

### **3.2.1 Technologies of agency**

*"Power is everywhere"* is an often-cited phrase of Foucault. Power, and the power of discourse are both within a person and outside. In Foucault's view, people do not just accept discourses and their accompanying ideas. He argues that people position themselves within that conceptual framework. They take on roles that are defined by the concepts and think of themselves in those terms. *"Discourses create the very subjective experience of ourselves."*<sup>19</sup>

In the Rugova Canyon, I did not only hear people say 'sustainable development', I also saw and experienced people dealing with this discourse. People trying to take on roles, positions, and demand others to position themselves within the discourse of 'sustainable development'. These observations I did, are in a Foucauldian sense seen as 'technologies'. Technologies of how individuals regulate and problematize their conduct towards a moral order (Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine 2017). Taking this approach to discourse means viewing a person neither as a role or an individual but merely as a multiplicity of positions which are discontinuous and contradictory (Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine 2017). How this works in practice became clear to me when interviewing a civil servant of the municipality of Peja.

During an interview, a civil servant of the municipality of Peja told me about the difficult living conditions for villagers in Rugova. Heavy snowfall in winter, badly maintained roads,

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<sup>18</sup> Foucauldian reformulation of discourse, by Diez 1999, 603.

<sup>19</sup> From a lecture on how to use a Foucauldian discourse analysis. Given in 2015 by Graham R. Gibbs at the University of Huddersfield. Viewed on [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E\\_ffCsQx2Cg](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E_ffCsQx2Cg). Last accessed on May 26, 2019.

and only one school for all thirteen villages drive people to leave the Rugova Canyon and live somewhere else. He uttered his concerns to me: *“We want people to stay there, to give life to the mountains!”* To achieve that, he explained that the municipality is organizing workshops. Workshops for people living in the Rugova Canyon to teach them how to deal with tourism. The municipality wants to build local capacity for making the area touristic. The aim is to make local communities understand what the benefits are of tourism. However, the municipality does not want people to build large hotels or restaurants. *“That is against sustainable development”*, he argued. They want to keep it very local and unique. Therefore, they teach people how to cook traditional meals for tourists and how to host people in their guesthouse. *“They have to share the history, the culture. They have to eat somewhere traditional food. Not eh, like me to go in Rugova to offer, Coca Cola or something.”*<sup>20</sup>

The arguments made by the civil servant of the municipality of Peja, show how he, and the municipality, relate to the discourse of ‘sustainable development’ and how they demand others to position themselves within this discourse. Using Foucault’s theories on discourse, one can see this civil servant as a carrier of power. Power encapsulated in truths he relates to the discourse of ‘sustainable development’. Namely, the idea related to sustainable development that the civil servant hold as truth, is the idea that tourists need to experience the local culture. The local villagers in this, need not be seen as powerless subjects. They are carriers of power themselves, being able to position themselves to the discourse of ‘sustainable development’ but not necessarily need to. They can decide themselves to share the same truth, they have agency. As Caldwell (2007, 774) explains Foucault’s ideas: *“Power is something that is relational, something that circulates within and through discourses, [...] so it must be explored as chains, networks or capillary connections in which individuals are the localized carriers or sites of power, not its ‘points of application. [...] subjects as willing selves, [...] give themselves up to existing forms of power-knowledge not because they are oppressed or repressed, but because they are capable of exercising power over themselves and others.”*

Before I further analyse my findings by using Foucault’s ideas on discourse, first I will elaborate on the discourse of ‘sustainable development’ itself.

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<sup>20</sup> From an interview with a civil servant of the Municipality of Peja, February 13, 2019.

### 3.3 The discourse of ‘sustainable development’

Sustainable development is a significant discourse in global politics, especially within the UN context (Mert 2009). The term was first employed by the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), who had the mission to outline international political strategies for protecting the environment. It took the commission four years to publish its report in 1987, titled ‘Our Common Future’ (Mert 2009). In this report, they defined sustainable development as: *“Development which meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs”* (WCED 1987, 8). However, sustainable development is equivocal. It can be applied for meeting a variety of goals (Parris and Kates 2003). Sustainable development is increasingly given as a *“pathway to all that is good and desirable in society”* (Holden et al. 2014, 130). This makes the discourse of ‘sustainable development’ very complex and comprehensive.

Whereas there is still no scientific or political agreement on a comprehensive definition of sustainable development, it remains an important political concept; it *“is now like ‘democracy’: it is universally desired, diversely understood, extremely difficult to achieve, and won’t go away”* (Lafferty 2004, 26 in Holden et al. 2014, 130). Sustainable development is continuously contested in a battle about its interpretation, meaning, and implementation (Hajer and Versteeg, 2005). This battle is fought about in global situations, like within the 2012 ‘United Nations Conference on Sustainable development, Rio+20’,<sup>21</sup> but also in local contexts. In Kosovo I have seen how such a global idea and discourse takes shape and is struggled about, in a local place.

One conversation I had with a local environmental activist from Peja, shows how different ideas on ‘sustainable development’ cause struggles and contestations. This environmental activist just came from a meeting for the revision of the law on the National Park. The meeting was initiated by villagers from Rugova. Some high governmental officials were invited as well as the mayor of Peja. The environmental activist I spoke to, was really upset about the meeting. He argued that *“ministries, the municipality, and local people are not concerned with protecting the National park.”* He wanted people to understand the benefits of having a National park and of protecting nature. I told him that civil servants of the municipality of Peja argued to me that they act in favour of protecting the National park, and aim for

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<sup>21</sup> “The United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development – or Rio+20 – took place in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil on 20-22 June 2012. It resulted in a focused political outcome document which contains clear and practical measures for implementing sustainable development.” From <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/rio20.html>, accessed on July 10, 2019.

sustainable development. He answered: *“That could be. But the municipality is building big roads in Rugova, as to make the area more accessible. Thereby, they are destroying a lot of land.”*<sup>22</sup> This practical example illustrates how sustainable development is understood differently. Whereas the municipality wants to improve the accessibility of the Rugova Canyon for tourists in order to achieve what they believe to be sustainable development, a local environmental NGO representative views this as destroying nature. This illustrates how complex and comprehensive the concept of sustainable development is.

Whereas the discourse of sustainable development is a complex one, discourse analysis is perceived a useful approach for uncovering struggles around the meaning, interpretation, and implementation of discourses (Hajer and Versteeg 2005). According to Hajer and Versteeg (2005), discourse analysis has the strength of revealing the role of language in governance, revealing the deep-seated forms of language in practice, and to answer ‘how’ questions. This is the reason why I focus on discourse to study environmental governance in the Rugova Canyon. By focusing on discourse, this research offers an interpretation of how the discourse of ‘sustainable development’ gives meaning and creates the practices and conditions that shape the lives of all stakeholders involved in governing the Rugova Canyon.

### **3.4 The discourse of ‘sustainable development’ regarding the Rugova Canyon**

For Foucault, discourse refers broadly to reiterated statements and keywords that recur in local contexts. As such, they comprise common patterns of paradigmatic and disciplinary practice and knowledge (Luke 1999 in Cataldi 2004, 66). While doing fieldwork, I found out that the discourse of ‘sustainable development’ is constituted and diffused among stakeholders through such reiterated statements and keywords. Whenever I spoke to someone about the Rugova Canyon, always the same kind of topics came up. Topics such as ‘waste’, ‘deforestation’, ‘hunting’, ‘tourism’, and ‘construction works’ were often mentioned. These are topics that my research participants are concerned with, they defined as problems, and sometimes as opportunities for conforming to the discourse of ‘sustainable development’. In what ways these topics were generally discussed about during the conversations and interviews I had, can be clearly illustrated by outlining the case of a public debate I attended.

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<sup>22</sup> From a conversation with a local environmentalist from Peja, February 14, 2019.

### 3.4.1 Debate on the most pressing issues

On the evening of March 27, 2019, a public debate was held in Peja by the TV show ‘Jeta ne Kosovë’. This is the first public debate in a row about environmental issues in Kosovo. These debates are held for bringing environmental issues on the political agenda. The public debate was led by Jeta Xharra who is a renowned journalist in Kosovo and the Balkans. She makes an impact with her challenging and watchful moderation of popular current affairs programs. Her TV show ‘Jeta ne Kosovë’, which literally means ‘Life in Kosovo’, is currently the most-watched TV show on Kosovo’s prevailing affairs.<sup>23</sup>

During the debate, there were six panellists. Some of them are important stakeholders in relation to the Rugova Canyon; the mayor of the municipality of Peja, a minister of environment, the director of ‘Bjeshkët e Nemuna’ National park, and the director of environmental NGO ‘ERA’. Other panellists were a professor of waste management in Mitrovica and someone from ‘Kosovo Civil Society Consortium for Sustainable Development’ (KOSID). In addition, there was a microphone open to the public, and questions could be posted via Facebook. Though the public debate was held in Albanian and Serb languages, I could easily catch-up thanks to some headphones with English translation.

The debate started almost instantly about the Rugova Canyon. ERA’s director came to speak and answered the question of what he considered as the most urgent and main problems related to the mountains (i.e. Bjeshkët e Nemuna National park). He said: *“There are shortcomings in the implementation of the law on the National park. [...] There are many illegal practices happening in the park; construction, cutting, hunting. We first need to meet all the criteria of the law on the National park before we allow those practices to happen.”* In addition to these illegal practices happening in the Rugova Canyon, the Mayor of the municipality of Peja stated the problem of uncontrolled sewage dumping in Rugova. Mainly from hotels and restaurants. Concomitantly, waste management has often been mentioned as a critical issue in the Rugova Canyon.

During the public debate, all main concerns that exist about governing the Rugova Canyon came together. Not only the panellists raised the issues of waste, deforestation, hunting, and construction works in Rugova. Local citizens who were sitting in the public also asked questions about these issues. A villager from Rugova uttered his concerns about road constructions in Rugova: *“mayor says that the road is revitalizing the area, but he is destroying it.”* Another villager expressed his worries about waste dumping alongside, and in the river:

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<sup>23</sup> “Jeta Xharra” on <http://birn.eu.com/people/jeta-xharra/>, accessed June 24, 2019.

*“When can we expect the river to look nice?”* In terms of concerns about deforestation, someone argued: *“We want to hear names of the people who start fires in the woods. We need identities.”*<sup>24</sup>

The debate lasted approximately one hour. As I have illustrated now, issues of waste, deforestation, hunting, and construction works, were mainly discussed in this debate. Very briefly, problems and opportunities for tourism also came to the fore. For instance, when someone asked about the ‘Borea project’. The Borea project is a proposed project for the creation of a Ski resort in Peja. The plan is to construct a cable car which starts in Peja, and goes up into the Rugova Mountains. Where some people highly valorise this project, because a cable car would prevent many people from going into the Canyon by car,<sup>25</sup> others are scared that the construction will be the start of many other constructions in the mountains.<sup>26</sup>

The topics of tourism, waste, deforestation, hunting, and construction works that were discussed during this public debate also often came to the fore when talking with people or interviewing people about governing the Rugova Canyon. Therefore, I argue that these topics are my ethnographically found reiterated statements and keywords related to the discourse of ‘sustainable development’.

In this chapter, I have outlined the usefulness of viewing the concept of ‘sustainable development’ as a discourse in the Foucauldian way. By using Foucault’s approach to discourse, I have shown that the global discourse on ‘sustainable development’ is locally produced, used, and diffused via the reiterated topics of ‘waste’, ‘hunting’, ‘deforestation’, ‘infrastructure’, and ‘tourism’. In the next chapters, I will use empirical examples for explaining how the discourse of ‘sustainable development’ is produced and used in Kosovo to govern the Rugova Canyon’s natural area and its related communities. I will show the usefulness of an anthropological sensitive use of discourse in a Foucauldian way, for tracing the discursive power struggles underlying environmental governance in the Rugova Canyon (Hajer and Versteeg 2005).

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<sup>24</sup> Quotes may slightly differ from the exact spoken words because I had to rely on the secondary source of translations via headphones.

<sup>25</sup> From a conversation with a tour operator, Peja, March 3, 2019.

<sup>26</sup> From a conversation with a local environmental activist, Peja, April 10, 2019.

## Chapter 4: Sustainable development for the Rugova Canyon, How?

The main aim of this chapter is to unite the afore-described theory with empirical found data. By making use of some of the in chapter three named ‘reiterated key issues’, I will illustrate how Foucault’s theories on discourse are visible in practice and how in an area of limited statehood the discourse of ‘sustainable development’ takes shape. Thereby, I will explain how this both leads to contestations as well as new forms of hybrid environmental governance.

I will start this chapter by outlining the issue of tourism, then I will proceed to the issue of waste management, and lastly, I will dig into the issue of construction works in the Rugova Canyon. I will start describing each issue only empirically. I will outline how I have seen and experienced the issue being talked about and acted upon. Thereafter, I will link in each section this empirical data with the theory. Showing how the information relates to the concept of ‘limited statehood’ and Foucault’s theories on discourse. I chose to only describe the issues of tourism, waste, and construction works in Rugova, because these are the issues I mostly experienced myself. In this way, I do not only rely on data that was said to me during interviews and conversations, but I also use data that I have seen and experienced myself.

### **4.1 The Rugova Canyon as a tourist attraction**

Tourism is a topic where a lot of my research participants are optimistic about. Many argued to me that the Rugova Canyon has a lot of potential for tourism and that tourism is crucial for the Canyon to create sustainable development.<sup>27</sup> However, not all research participants are similarly interested in tourism for generating sustainable development. They have other incentives for valuing tourism. In this section, I will sketch both these arguments.

During an interview with the director of the National park, the director told me that everyone who undertakes activities that affect the natural state of the Rugova Canyon, should come to his office to get a permit. However, he argued that nobody does that. Where the directorate of the National park should then fine everyone who practices such activities in the Canyon, the director argued that they do not fine people. This has to do with tourism. He told

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<sup>27</sup> From an interview with a citizen of Pristina who did his masters in management related to tourism, Pristina, April 29, 2019. From an interview with a tour operator, Peja, March 3, 2019. From an interview with a tourist guide, Peja, March 23, 2019. From an interview with the director of the National park, Peja, April 17, 2019. And from an interview with an environmental activist, Peja, April 17, 2019.

me that the directorate of the National park, who operates on the basis of MESP's mandate, considers tourism to be valuable for development of the local community. So, the directorate has decided not to fine people who practice activities in the Canyon that attract tourists.<sup>28</sup> Thus, when people build hotels, restaurants, or organize tourist activities such as hiking, climbing, etcetera, they do not get fined even though they lack a legal permission for doing these activities in the Canyon.

Apart from the directorate of the National park that supports tourism for the Canyon to create development, also other stakeholders support tourism. Environmental activists, the municipality of Peja, and tour operators highly value tourism for the Rugova Canyon. Yet, other than the directorate of the National park, these stakeholders argue to support tourism in a more sustainable way. They often mentioned to me that they support 'ecotourism'. Ecotourism is defined by the International Ecotourism Society (2015) as *"responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment, sustains the well-being of the local people, and involves interpretation and education."* To accommodate this kind of tourism in the Rugova Canyon, local villagers in Rugova are given workshops by the municipality of Peja on how to deal with tourism.<sup>29</sup> Also, tourist companies work together with local villagers for hosting tourists.<sup>30</sup> Another example is the construction of a natural 'waterfall trail' by the environmental NGO 'ERA'. This trail is constructed to let tourists enjoy the natural beauty of a waterfall in the Rugova Canyon. In an information folder of ERA, the following is written about the waterfall trail: *"It is a phased rural sustainable mountain development project [...]. It is one of the first steps in initiating sustainable development in the rural mountain region and promoting local eco-family tourism."*<sup>31</sup>

#### **4.1.1 Sustainable development through tourism**

Where the directorate of the National park puts most emphasis on economic development for local people, other stakeholders focus more on the necessity to add sustainability to this development. They are promoting ecotourism for the Rugova Canyon. In this, one can see how difficult it is to govern an area of limited statehood. Where the lack of a Spatial Plan results in the fact that nobody knows exactly what is allowed, where, when, and by whom, different actors rely on different truths or ideals to legitimize their actions. This leads to disagreements. For

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<sup>28</sup> From an interview with the director of the National park, Peja, April 17, 2019.

<sup>29</sup> From an interview with a civil servant of the Municipality of Peja, February 13, 2019.

<sup>30</sup> From field notes when I participated in a collective action project that was called 'connecting youth across borders', Rugova Canyon, March 3, 2019.

<sup>31</sup> From an information folder about 'ERA' (n.d.), last read on July 15, 2019.



instance, a civil servant of the municipality of Peja told me a case where the directorate allowed the construction of a hotel in the Rugova Canyon. The municipality did not want that to happen because they more value small guesthouses run by local people. However, she said: *“The time when the municipality is not approving the construction, it means time for the ministry to circumvent rules or laws. The ministry plays the main role in allowing things or not in the National park. This is just because they have the most power.”*<sup>32</sup>

Where the civil servant of the municipality of Peja argued that the ministry has the most power, I experienced the discourse of sustainable development to be also very powerful. Foucault argues that discourses can be powerful because they hold certain truths. Truths, in his view, are the ideas and knowledge that people relate to a certain discourse. When many people rely on the same truths, a discourse becomes increasingly powerful (Foucault 2000 in Caldwell 2007). This idea of Foucault is visible in the forms of cooperation that are generated by the shared truth between stakeholders; the idea that ecotourism is valuable for achieving sustainable development. The earlier described case that the municipality cooperates with local communities by providing workshops, and also the case that tourist companies cooperate with local communities for hosting tourists, are hybrid forms of environmental governance based on these stakeholder’s shared truths concerning the discourse of sustainable development.

The idea that the ministry possesses power because of its position, does not always mean that other people are constraint by that power. The existing hybrid forms of environmental governance illustrate that. These forms of governance, such as the cooperation between the municipality and local citizens for hosting tourist, are just as the construction of big hotels in the Rugova Canyon, allowed by the ministry and the directorate of the National park. This all illustrates Foucault’s rejection of the idea that power constrains. That power would only mean controlling, preventing, repressing, or censoring. No, the existing hybrid forms of environmental governance in the Rugova Canyon prove that the power of the discourse of sustainable development enables hybrid forms of environmental governance. It enables people to act according to their truths (Diez 1999).

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<sup>32</sup> From an interview with a civil servant of the municipality of Peja, April 3, 2019.

#### 4.2 Waste management in an area of limited statehood

Whenever I raised the topic of waste during conversations or interviews, people responded by arguing that waste management is a big issue in the Rugova Canyon. Also, I have experienced this myself; every time I was driving or walking through the Rugova Canyon, I saw waste in public areas. A civil servant of the municipality of Peja told me the following: *“People are throwing waste out of their car when driving through Rugova, and also people who are having a picnic leave their stuff at the picnic place. We must increase awareness of environment.”*<sup>33</sup> How come that all my research participants agree that uncontrolled waste disposal in public areas is bad for the environment, while it seems that a lot of people are not concerned with waste in that way?



**Figure 3:** Waste disposal in the Rugova Canyon. Photo taken on April 4, 2019.

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<sup>33</sup> From an interview with a civil servant of the municipality of Peja, March 14, 2019.

An environmental activist told me what she perceives as one of the causes of waste in public areas. She places people's lack of awareness of the harmful impact of waste to the environment in a historical perspective: *"From communist times, people didn't see public spaces as their own. Public spaces they always thought as state owned. And they hated the state. You know, the state was always something they were fighting against. And then in all of a sudden you are free, and you are a democratic state. And then you own the public space. I feel like that is slowly coming. That people seem like, not only take care of your own yard but you should take care of the common space. It is yours, it is your responsibility. Not only the state should do that. I think that idea is coming now, people now are understanding their role in democracy, their responsibility."*<sup>34</sup> According to this environmental activist, people's behaviour towards waste management slowly changes due to their changing knowledge about what their role is in democracy.

Where it is argued that the problem of a lot of waste disposal in public areas has to do with people's mentality, it is also argued that there is a lack of ability of local governments to provide proper waste management. In the public debate, which I have outlined at the end of the previous chapter, the director of the National park stated that they lack budget for providing proper waste management in the Rugova Canyon. Also, Peja's municipality officials argue to have little financial resources. This is stated in a project document from 2016, funded by the US Agency for International Development (USAID) titled: 'Waste Management in 16 Municipalities: opportunities for inter-municipal cooperation'. In the document is written that although there exists a waste management plan for the municipality of Peja, *"Municipality officials [argue] that treatment of waste is very expensive and the municipality does not have the funds necessary to invest."*<sup>35</sup>

These arguments from the director of the National park and the Municipality of Peja illustrate my argument that environmental governance in the Rugova Canyon is an area of limited statehood. It shows that due to financial problems, governments lack the ability to implement and enforce rules and decisions (Börzel and Risse 2010). However, where the environmental activist I spoke to already argued that she sees a positive change in mentality towards waste management, I experienced this as well. Whenever I visited the Rugova Canyon with people from Peja, these people were picking up waste along our way. For instance, when

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<sup>34</sup> From an interview with an environmental activist, Peja, April 17, 2019.

<sup>35</sup> Data from

[https://www.riinvestinstitute.org/uploads/files/2016/September/20/Waste\\_Management\\_in\\_16\\_Municipalities\\_ENG1474375664.pdf](https://www.riinvestinstitute.org/uploads/files/2016/September/20/Waste_Management_in_16_Municipalities_ENG1474375664.pdf), accessed on July 30, 2019.

I booked a trip with some friends to hike in Rugova and to visit a cave under the guidance of a local tour guide. During the hike, every now and then, there were empty plastic bottles on the ground. The tour guide picked them all up and putted them in his bag.<sup>36</sup> Together with that, certain days a year, people from Peja organize the activity of collecting waste together in Rugova.<sup>37</sup> In this activity, people from the directorate of the National park, civil servants of the municipality, local citizens, and environmental activists all join together to collect waste in Rugova. Also, I have participated in a project from ERA where we collected waste in the Rugova Canyon. ERA often organizes activities for youth to collect waste in Rugova. This, to create environmental awareness among “*the new generation.*”<sup>38</sup>

Though, a lack of proper waste management in the Rugova Canyon illustrates the idea that environmental governance in the Rugova Canyon is an area of limited statehood, it also lays ground for hybrid forms of environmental governance. These forms of governance take shape in the activities of collecting waste. This all shows that where in the Rugova Canyon there is a lacking ability to implement and enforce rules and decisions related to waste management, it causes people to rely even more on a discourse, and thereby create hybrid forms of environmental governance.

### **4.3 The creation of a ‘Rugovian maze’?**

Where the previous sections end with the positive note that in an area of limited statehood new forms of governance seem to thrive, in this section I will proceed on the struggles and contestations that arise in an area of limited statehood.

The construction of roads in the Rugova Canyon is a practice where conflicting thoughts are about. Legally it should be as followed: According to the law on the National Park,<sup>39</sup> conditions for implementation of works, issuing construction permits, and interventions in the territory of the National park are only issued when it is allowed by the Spatial Plan and if the environmental impact procedures are done (Veselaj and Mustafa 2015). However, since there *is* no Spatial Plan, nobody knows exactly what is allowed, where, when, and by whom. Where the construction of roads takes place despite this lack of a Spatial Plan, it leads to confusion and to irregular road constructions.

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<sup>36</sup> I booked this trip by the tourist company: ‘Outdoor Kosovo’. We did the trip on April 20, 2019.

<sup>37</sup> From an interview with someone from the directory of the National park, Peja, February 19, 2019. And from an interview with a civil servant of the municipality of Peja, February 13, 2019.

<sup>38</sup> From an interview with an environmental activist, Peja, April 17, 2019.

<sup>39</sup> Law No. 04/L-086 On National Park “Bjeshkët e Nemuna” approved by the Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo on December 13, 2012. <http://www.assembly-kosova.org/common/docs/ligjet/Law%20on%20National%20Park-%20Bjeshket%20e%20Nemuna.pdf>

How irregular road construction takes shape in Rugova, became very visible for me when driving through the Canyon with a local tour operator. He told me that the road we were driving on used to be the only road leading from Kosovo to Montenegro. This road was constructed by the Austrian-Hungarian army, almost at the end of World War I. *“It is the road we need. But now, new roads are constructed. Roads to villages used to be very small. More tractor roads, not good for cars. But nowadays they want to build everything with asphalt!”*<sup>40</sup> Driving for about half an hour through the Canyon, we are talking about everything that is going on in the Canyon. Then, in all of a sudden, he lowers his speed and points to something up on a mountain: *“You see the new road up there? Local villagers there used two roads. But that was not enough for them, so they constructed a third one.”* Not completely understanding how he meant this, I asked who constructed that road. He responded by saying: *“The villagers. They bought a second hand bulldozer from Germany, any 10.000 euros, and they brought it here.”* This answer made me a bit confused. So I asked who allowed the construction of that road. On that question, he started laughing: *“Haha. Of course, they just have some kind of oral permission from big people in the ministry.”*

On another day, I was driving with a local tourist guide through the Rugova Canyon. With him, I was talking about the Peaks of the Balkans trail. This is a trail, which leads through Montenegro, Albania, and Kosovo. He told me that hiking the trail can take maximally thirteen days. Tourists who hike this 192 kilometre trail can sleep in guesthouses along the way. When we reached a small village in Rugova called ‘Drelaj’, I asked whether there were also hiking routes there. He responded by saying: *“This part is also in the Peaks of the Balkans trail. But a little while ago, they have put some asphalted roads here. Now we try to avoid these and find other trails.”*

During the public debate I described in the previous chapter, the problems with irregular road constructions were nicely summarized. A local environmental activist argued the following: *“I do want people and animals inside the National park. I am not against roads, but there needs to be studied what the effects, environmental effects on biodiversity are before you build such a road.”* In reaction to that statement, the mayor of the municipality of Peja argued the following: *“We need to make conditions for sustainable development. That’s why roads are necessary.”*<sup>41</sup>

The examples of irregular road construction show that the discourse of sustainable development is a contested discourse, the meaning of which is not (yet) fixed. In the above-

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<sup>40</sup> From an interview with a tour operator, Peja, March 3, 2019.

<sup>41</sup> From the public debate in Peja, on March 27, 2019.

stated examples is illustrated how different people rely on the same discourse for legitimizing their actions. However, they position themselves differently to this discourse. Where the municipality argues that road constructions are favourable for generating sustainable development, this creates problems for other stakeholders. For instance tour operators need to change their hiking trails and environmental activists are against new road constructions unless environmental impact assessments are done first. Here, it is illustrated that when people do not rely on the same truths related to the discourse of sustainable development, it causes problems and contestations. It shows that the discourse of sustainable development is not rigid, it is through different subject positions contested and changeable (Cataldi 2004).

In this chapter, I have illustrated Foucault's argument that a discourse causes a "*subtle, shifting order of power [which] legitimizes knowledge and determines what is considered truth*" (Cataldi 2004, 63). Where some people believe in power yielded by people, I have described that power can also be yielded by a discourse. When people position themselves in similar ways to the discourse of 'sustainable development', the discourse proves to be powerful; it enables the existence of hybrid forms of environmental governance in an area of limited statehood. However, I have also illustrated that both the discourse of sustainable development as well as environmental governance in the Rugova Canyon as an area of limited statehood, can cause confusion and contestation.

In the next chapter I will proceed on the power of discourse. I describe this in a separate chapter, because I will outline a different result of the discourse's power; Foucault's believe in the power of discourse for generating action and resistance. I will illustrate this, by describing the case of an Austrian Energy company that wants to place several hydropower plants on the river streaming through the Rugova Canyon and the city of Peja. These plans for constructing hydropower plants on that river, raise concerns among local, national, and international communities.

*"Discourses are not once and for all subservient to power or raised up against it... we must make allowances for the complex and unstable process whereby a discourse can be both an instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy"* (Foucault 1998, 100-1)

## Chapter 5: Power, Discourse and Resistance

*“Do we want to preserve the area for future generations, or is everything for sale?”<sup>42</sup>*

This remark of an environmental activist during the afore mentioned public debate, illustrates the seriousness of concerns about the plans for constructing hydropower plants on the Lumbardhi River – i.e. the river streaming through the Rugova Canyon and the city of Peja. In this chapter, I will outline these plans for constructing several hydropower plants on the Lumbardhi River. I will describe what these plans do to the community living in the Rugova Canyon and Peja. Thereby, I will focus on the discourse of ‘sustainable development’. Other than the previous chapter, I focus on the discourse’s power for generating action and resistance. This chapter is based on Foucault’s ideas that discourses hold certain truths, and that truth means knowledge and therefore power. Where every discourse holds certain truths and diverse truths for different people, Foucault talks about the ‘battle for truth’: A battle about *“the rules according to which the true and false are separated [...] a battle about the status of truth and the economic and political role it plays”* (Foucault in Rabinow 1991, 6).

First, I will give a short description of hydropower; what it is and why it is contested. After that, I will outline the current developments regarding hydropower in the Balkans. Then, I will zoom in to the Rugova Canyon by describing what the plans for placing hydropower plants on the Lumbardhi River do to the discourse of ‘sustainable development’.

### **5.1 Hydropower: What is it?**

Humans have been controlling the strength of river currents for centuries, using water wheels rotating through rivers for originally processing grains and clothes. Nowadays, hydropower, or water power, provides around sixteen percent of the world’s electricity (Nunez 2019).

There are two forms of hydropower plants: one with a dam, and one without a dam. Most common is a hydropower plant with a dam. This conventional hydropower plant is a system which consists of three parts: an electricity producing power plant, a water flow controlling dam, and a water preserving reservoir. The river’s water behind the dam flows through an entry and pushes against a turbine’s blades, making them to turn. This turbine rotates a generator for producing electricity. How much electricity can be generated is dependent on

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<sup>42</sup> Argued by a local environmental activist during the public debate on March 27, 2019.

how much water moves through the system and on how far the water drops. Long-distance electric lines can transport the electricity to businesses, factories, and homes (Nunez 2019).

The generation of hydropower has many advantages. The used energy source, which is water, is free. Flowing water is a fuel source that is renewed by rainfall and snow. Hydropower plants can generate big amounts of electricity, plus they are easy to adjust to contemporary electricity demands by controlling the flow of water via the turbines. However, hydropower has not only positive effects. Big hydropower plant projects can rupture river ecosystems and communities, forcing out residents and harming wildlife (Nunez 2019). How that is possible, I will outline in the next section by describing the big ‘rush’ on hydropower throughout the Balkans.

## **5.2 Hydropower projects throughout the Balkans**

The river network flowing through the canyons of the Balkans is sometimes referred to as the ‘blue heart of Europe’. This because the rivers in the Balkans are said to be the last free flowing rivers of Europe, untouched by human interference. However, currently there are plans for constructing about 2800 hydropower plants throughout the Balkans in the next few years. A campaign called ‘Save the Blue Heart of Europe’, states that “*the Blue Heart is at risk of a heart attack*” (Balkan rivers n.d.).

According to the plans for constructing 2800 hydropower plants on the Balkan rivers, no single river, even if located inside a National park, will be left untouched (Balkan rivers n.d.). These projects lead both developers and environmentalists struggle with the question whether the true value of these rivers is best realized by conserving it for its biodiversity and nourishment it provides to local communities, or by exploiting it for kilowatts. Where the Balkan countries are in need of additional sources of energy to serve the increased energy demand, more and more studies show the reverse effects of hydropower plants on human and nature (Balkan rivers n.d.; Parshley 2018).

As climate change increases pressure on reducing emissions, governments all over the world are paying more and more attention to renewable energy sources. Especially in lower-income countries. The promise of hydroelectric power as clean, cheap, and copious energy is attractive. However, an increasing range of scientific studies suggest that hydropower plants damage the rivers’ biodiversity through lessening its water capacity, and disturbing the flow of materials, organisms, and nutrients (Vejnovic 2017). “*Growing evidence around the Balkans shows that operators are often putting the whole river into pipes*” (Vejnovic 2017, 10).



Together with that, ancillary infrastructure such as roads have a damaging impact on a river's surrounding area (Vejnovic 2017). All in all, hydropower plants can have damaging impacts on rivers, biodiversity, and surrounding communities.

### 5.3 Hydropower plants for the Lumbardhi River

On the 19<sup>th</sup> of February 2019, the news came that an Austrian Energy company named 'Kelkos-Energy', had requested to build several hydropower plants on the Lumbardhi River. The plans were revealed at the Inter-ministerial Committee for Strategic Investments, where they stated that the presented proposals of Kelkos-Energy fulfilled all technical criteria to be treated as a strategic investment project.<sup>43</sup> What these technical criteria exactly entail is a very technical story which does not serve the purpose of this text. However, why it is seen as a strategic investment will be outlined here.

Hydropower is by Kelkos-Energy, and the Kosovar government considered a sustainable alternative to coal and other fossil fuels. The aim of the Kosovar government is to provide 25% of the country's energy through renewable sources by 2025. Kelkos' investment of 97 million euros for the construction of hydropower plants on the Lumbardhi River,<sup>44</sup> is in line with the plans to increase Kosovo's use of renewable energy sources. By doing so, Kelkos' plans are considered a strategic investment.

For reaching its goal of providing 25% of Kosovo's energy via renewable sources, Kosovo relies heavily on hydropower. The government sees it as a solution both to secure the growing demand for electricity in Kosovo, and to halt unsustainable electricity imports. However, environmental Minister Reshitaj has "*discovered that the last research measuring Kosovo's water supply above and below ground was conducted in 1984*", and that these result are still being used today to authorize the construction of hydropower plants. Without having up-to-date information, she argues that "*we cannot even think about giving or not giving permits because we violate the law and the fundamental right of citizens to have a healthy life and... we violate the rights that are guaranteed by conventions.*"<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> News article from <https://prishtinainsight.com/hydroelectric-plans-for-the-lumbardhi-spark-controversy/> last accessed on June 27, 2019.

<sup>44</sup> Information from <https://greenkosovo.com/two-strategic-investors-fulfill-technical-criteria-plan-to-invest-225-million-euros/>, accessed on July 3, 2019.

<sup>45</sup> Information from <https://prishtinainsight.com/the-fight-for-kosovos-vanishing-rivers-mag/>, accessed on July 3, 2019.

Kosovar environmental organizations, civil society, and local governments agree with the minister that issuing construction permits for placing hydropower plants on Kosovo's rivers makes no sense right now. They are against the plans of Kelkos-Energy to construct hydropower plants on the Lumbardhi River. In the next section I will outline what their arguments are.

### **5.3.1 Hydropower plans for the Lumbardhi: controversy**

Kelkos-Energy is not an unknown company for the community of Peja and Rugova. In Peja's neighbouring municipality of Deçan, Kelkos-Energy has three operating Hydropower plants. The Environmental and Waters Inspection Team from MESP has verified Kelkos' work in Deçan. They report that the work of Kelkos-Energy caused, among other, the following problems: a loss of two water sources, disconnection between water pipes used for the supply of drinking water to Deçan's citizens, destruction of fences, pipes, and filters used for the protection of drinking water, and also caused the degradation of the environment, the soil, and gravel. Based on the experience of what happened in Deçan, a local resident from Deçan told me that such another investment of Kelkos would dry up the Lumbardhi River. Apart from risks for animals this causes risks for humans as well he said; less irrigation water, and also less drinking water.<sup>46</sup>

To sustain its ecosystem, to keep all flora and fauna alive in the river, the flow of the river needs at least thirty percent of its water capacity. Though in Deçan they left around one percent.<sup>47</sup> *"This year, [...], 30 meter deep groundwater wells, usually refilled through the flow from the river in Deçan are dry and have remained dry."*<sup>48</sup> An environmental activist told me that this shows that Kosovo does not have the capacity for the planned hydropower projects, there are just no major rivers going through the country he said.<sup>49</sup> Another environmental activist told me that even if the Kosovar government used all hydropower potential by extracting energy from every river in Kosovo, the power plants would only produce 5 percent renewable energy. Not the 25% the government aims for. So According to her, it is not worth it to construct hydropower plants everywhere. It is not worth risking the loss of biodiversity and damaging entire ecosystems.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> From an interview with an environmental activist, Peja, February 25, 2019.

<sup>47</sup> From an interview with an environmental activist, Peja, March 21, 2019.

<sup>48</sup> Information from <https://prishtinainsight.com/the-fight-for-kosovos-vanishing-rivers-mag/>, accessed on July 3, 2019.

<sup>49</sup> From an interview with an environmental activist, Peja, March 21, 2019.

<sup>50</sup> From an interview with an environmental activist, Peja, April 17, 2019.

Arguments that hydropower plants cause damage to local people and nature are often evoked problems when I was talking with people about hydropower plants. For instance a local villager of Rugova was concerned with animals; *“If there would come hydropower plants, fish will die. And also the wildlife that drinks from the river is in danger then.”*<sup>51</sup> Above that, a civil servant of the municipality of Peja told me that hydropower plants would lead to such degradation of the landscape that the danger of possible floods would increase. Where these concerns are mainly about health and safety of both human and nature, other concerns had to do with development; Peja and the Rugova Canyon would lose their freshness the river brings them, and as such, tourism would decrease. A civil servant of the municipality of Peja framed this problem in the following way to me: *“It is not good to just let one person use the water. On the river you can develop a lot of activities where a lot of people can provide from. People can have a picnic near the river, there is potential to do kayak and stuff. This creates income and many jobs. And hydropower will destroy everything. [...] It’s just not in the governments’ plan, tourism development. In the government they are looking for how they can create immediately income. Which is against sustainable development.”*<sup>52</sup>

The raised concerns described in this section show how people think of the proposed plans of Kelkos-Energy for constructing several hydropower plants on the Lumbardhi River. In the next section I will illustrate how these thoughts and arguments are turned into action.

#### **5.4 Action!**

Though the Inter-ministerial Committee for Strategic Investments had announced that ‘Kelkos-Energy’ had met the technical criteria to be seen as a strategic investment, the Kosovo Assembly deputies had twenty days to reject or accept the plans. This gave time, however short, for local communities, the municipality of Peja, and environmental activists to raise their concerns and formulate their arguments against the construction of hydropower plants on the Lumbardhi River.

Within these twenty days, several activities were organized. Immediately on the 19<sup>th</sup> of February, the day when the news came out, local organizations and people from the local community gathered together to discuss what actions could be taken to halt these plans. After that meeting, things went quickly. Flyers and stickers were produced with the hashtag: ‘Mos

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<sup>51</sup> From an interview with a local villager of Drelaj in the Rugova Canyon, March 23, 2019.

<sup>52</sup> From an interview with a civil servant of the municipality of Peja, February 13, 2019.

ma prek lumbardhin’, which means ‘don’t touch our river’. The flyers were hung up everywhere throughout the city of Peja. Furthermore, petition forms were produced and distributed among local shops, an environmental activist gave an interview for a National radio station, and some journalists together with environmental activists have been visiting three ministries; the Ministry of Trade and Industry, the Ministry of Economic Development, and the Ministry of Environment and Spatial Planning. There, they raised their concerns and discussed with the ministers about the proposed plans of constructing hydropower plants on the Lumbardhi River. For sure, there have been organized more activities which I do not outline here. However, I do want to highlight one more activity. This activity deserves special interest because it had a lot of impact. Therefore, I want to detail this activity, which is a protest in the city centre of Peja.



**Figure 4:** Campaign flyer. These were visible throughout the city of Peja a week before the protest. Photo taken on March 20, 2019.

February 25, 2019 was the day of the protest. A protest organized against the proposals of Kelkos-Energy to construct several hydropower plants on the Lumbardhi River. The protest was organized by different local organizations, the municipality of Peja, and Kosovar citizens. It was called under the slogan ‘Mosmaprek Lumbardhin’. Thousands of people gathered together that afternoon in the city centre of Peja. There, they could sign petition forms and listen to speeches. The people who were giving speeches, all shared the same argument; that the construction of hydropower plants would damage the river, which has many destructive consequences for both human and nature. During the protest, flyers, signs, and stickers with the hashtag ‘MosmaprekLumbardhin’ were everywhere. When the speeches were over, and most of the people had signed the petition forms, people slowly left the square.

At the end of the afternoon, that day of the protest on the 25<sup>th</sup> of February, the news came out that the prime minister had blocked the construction of hydropower plants on the Lumbardhi River. He stated the following on Facebook: *“After the protest and legitimate concerns from the representatives of Rugova residents about the hydropower plant in Lumbardhi, I have demanded an immediate halt to further procedures until a clear and comprehensive overview of the impact and scale of this project on the environment has been done.”*<sup>53</sup>



**Figure 5:** Protest in Peja, against the construction of hydropower plants on the Lumbardhi River. Photo taken on March 25, 2019.

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<sup>53</sup> Quote from website: <https://prishtinainsight.com/14736-2/>, accessed on May 7, 2019.

## 5.5 The power of discourse

In the previous sections I have described how people objected the proposals for constructing hydropower plants on the Lumbardhi River. Fuelled by what happened in Deçan, after the construction of hydropower plants there, people from Peja raised their concerns by taking action. Arguing that the construction of hydropower on ‘their’ river would affect tourism, the economy, and also biodiversity.<sup>54</sup> In other words, it would mean the end of sustainable development for the Rugova Canyon and its related municipality of Peja.

This case of hydropower shows how strong the discourse of ‘sustainable development’ is. Local communities, environmental activists, the municipality of Peja, and even international actors (hence, the ‘Save the Blue Heart of Europe’ campaign), all share the same truth; the truth that hydropower plants on the Lumbardhi River are bad for sustainable development of the region. This shared believe, embodied in the protest, illustrates how the discourse of sustainable development enables people to resist and take action. In the next section, I describe in what way the described case of hydropower relates to Foucault’s ideas on discourse.

### 5.5.1 Foucault on discourse and resistance

Among scholars, there is disagreement on whether there is place for resistance in Foucault’s theories on discourse and power. Michel de Certeau (1984, xiv and xv in Naraghi 2012) argues in his work ‘The practice of Everyday Life’, that Foucault’s thoughts on power leave no space for resistance. Subsequent, he states that it is more urgent to discover how a society resists a certain omnipresent power, than to study, as Foucault did, that there *is* an omnipresent power. However, some other scholars argue that Foucault certainly does leave space for resistance in his theories. Naraghi (2012, 10) for example states that Foucault surely sees the role of resistance in his theorizations of power. To illustrate this, Naraghi uses a quote of Foucault by stating that in Foucault’s view, struggles consist of taking the “*forms of resistance against different forms of power as a starting point*” (Foucault 1982, 780-1).

The case of hydropower, illustrated in this chapter, shows how Foucault’s theory on discourse and power works in practice. The power encapsulated in the discourse of ‘sustainable development’ is carried by many people. People who hold similar truths to this discourse and who are positioning themselves, and demanding others to position themselves, to this discourse. All making the discourse of ‘sustainable development’ increasingly powerful. Even that powerful as that it delegitimized the power of the Kosovar state; the state had eventually to

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<sup>54</sup> From an interview with an environmental activist, Peja, March 21, 2019.

decide to halt the constructions of the hydropower plants. So, this form of resistance (i.e. the protest) works against a different form of power (i.e. the state). However, Foucault sees this kind of resistance as a starting point. What does he mean by that? Are there still many struggles ahead?

### **5.6 The fragility of the discourse; the struggle is not over...**

Since the protest on the 25<sup>th</sup> of February 2019 in Peja, and the minister demanding an immediate halt to further procedures of the proposals to construct hydropower plants on the Lumbardhi River, things were certainly not going back to normal. In the Facebook post of the Prime Minister it comes forth that he first wants an overview of what environmental impact placing hydropower plants on the Lumbardhi River has, before making decisions. This shows, that no definite decisions have been made yet.

When I asked an environmental activist if he thought that the plans for the construction of hydropower plants were dismissed, he responded by stating: *“The protest in Peja certainly had a positive effect. But really, to this government, I don’t believe that they will stop it. [...] they may try it again. Because, eh, all the time governments say that Kosovo needs investment. I see and I told you, that I am not against investments. For better protection of the environment, you have to have more economical improvements. But we cannot allow that in the name of investment to destroy our future!”*<sup>55</sup> As many environmental activists and citizens shared similar thoughts as this environmental activist, the organization of actions did not stop.

About a week after the protest, a big pipeline was placed on a bridge in the city centre of Peja. This pipeline was a similar one, as the pipelines that would be placed in the Lumbardhi River for the construction of hydropower plants. The pipeline was placed on the bridge to make people aware of how big such a pipeline is in comparison to the water flow of the Lumbardhi River streaming underneath that bridge. In addition to this activity, I have been with two environmental activists to the Kosovar ombuds(wo)man. The environmental activists had made this appointment to gather information of what legal possibilities and what chances the environmental activists would have if they would sue Kelkos-Energy. These activities show that the struggle was certainly not over, and that people also did not perceive it as such. Where this sounds rather pessimistic, also Foucault ends his analysis of discourse, power and resistance with a rather pessimistic fact. *“He claims that every strategy of confrontation will change into*

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<sup>55</sup> From interview with an environmental activist via Skype between Peja and Pristina, April 13, 2019.

*a new power relation if it manages to win its battle ground*” (Foucault 1982, 794 in Naraghi 2012). By arguing this, Foucault depicts a repetitive cycle of resistance and power without any bright future at its end. Thus, by further elaborating on the argument of Foucault, this means that when the discourse of ‘sustainable development’ would totally reign over the Kosovar society including its government, there will eventually come a new discourse which will fight the same ‘battle for truth’. However, I argue that we should not think already that far ahead. This current battle must still be fought.

This chapter has continued on the discourse of ‘sustainable development’. In chapter four, I had already explained the power of the discourse of sustainable development by outlining how people legitimize their actions by relying on the discourse and how it generates hybrid forms of environmental governance. In this chapter, I have proceeded on the power of this discourse, by focusing on resistance. I have illustrated that the discourse has proved to be powerful in the form of resistance; the protest delegitimized the Kosovar governments’ action of considering Kelkos-Energy’s plans a strategic investment.

Hybrid forms of environmental governance in the Rugova Canyon and the protest against hydropower plants illustrate the power of the discourse of sustainable development. However, the ongoing threat of constructing hydropower plants on the Lumbardhi River, together with practices such as deforestation and the construction of big hotels or restaurants, are constantly testing the discourse’s power.



## Chapter 6: Conclusion

In this thesis, I have outlined in what way environmental governance is practiced in the Rugova canyon. I have illustrated how on the one hand, discourses and ideas about governing the area cause conflicts, and on the other hand, create cooperation between different stakeholders.

Already at the beginning of my stay in Kosovo, I explored that a legal basis for how to govern the Rugova Canyon was missing. The lack of a Spatial Plan for the area, makes that nobody exactly knows what is allowed, where, when, and by whom. Despite that, I have seen and experienced many activities being practiced in the Canyon. Hotels and restaurants are constructed, hiking and climbing trails are created, wood is being felled, tourist trips are organized, people coordinate waste collecting days, and so on. While doing fieldwork, all these activities in the Rugova Canyon made me feel confused. *What then does governing the Rugova Canyon mean? How can I make sense of all these diverse activities?* When I was back in the Netherlands and read through all kinds of academic papers about environmental governance, I was able to cohere everything I had seen, heard, and experienced in the Rugova Canyon.

### *Summary*

This thesis shows that environmental governance in the Rugova Canyon can be considered an area of limited statehood. There is a lack of governmental focus for governing the area, which makes that there is a lack of law implementation and enforcement. As an answer to the question how environmental governance is possible in an area of limited statehood, I have argued that the discourse of ‘sustainable development’ serves as a functional equivalent to the shadow of hierarchy. The discourse of sustainable development makes people rely on the same logic of consequences or logic of appropriateness to make hybrid forms of environmental governance work.

By using my empirical found data in chapter four and five, I have shown that the discourse of ‘sustainable development’ holds certain truths. In chapter four, I have outlined that when people rely on similar truths to the discourse, it makes the discourse of sustainable development powerful; it legitimizes actions and generates hybrid forms of environmental governance in the Rugova Canyon. However, when people rely on different truths, the discourse causes struggles and contestations.

In chapter five, I have proceeded on the power of discourse by focussing on resistance. The organized protest against the plans to construct hydropower plants on the Lumbardhi River, is an illustrative example of how powerful a discourse can be, it delegitimized the power of the Kosovar state; the state had eventually to decide to halt the constructions of hydropower plants. This shows that the discourse of sustainable development creates forms of resistance against different forms of power, such as power yielded by people with a certain status (i.e. people from the government or people with money, like Kelkos-Energy). It illustrates Foucault's theory that "*power is exercised rather than possessed*" (Foucault 1979).

### *Concluding remarks*

By using Foucault's theories on discourse, I approached environmental governance through the idea that all human perceptions of the world are embedded in discourses. That the meaning of behaviour and words, depend on their discursive context and that this context is certainly not rigid but constantly in flux. Where the discourse of sustainable development certainly proves to be powerful for governing the Rugova Canyon, its power is constantly tested by other practices and therefore in constant flux. Illegal constructions, deforestation, and the ongoing threat of the construction of hydropower plants on the Lumbardhi River, are activities that keep on testing the discourse's power. The discourse needs to prove its power again and again. Where Foucault then depicts a repetitive cycle of power and struggle, "a battle for truth"(Foucault in Rabinow 1991, 6), only the future can tell what will happen to the power of the discourse of sustainable development for governing the Rugova Canyon.

### *Research implications, limitations, and recommendations*

This thesis shows the usefulness of an anthropological sensitive use of discourse in a Foucauldian way, for tracing the discursive power struggles underlying environmental governance in the Rugova Canyon. By doing this, the thesis complements the theory about hybrid forms of environmental governance. Where there are still limited studies on what hybrid forms of environmental governance work in practice (Rana and Chhatre 2017), the empirical examples illustrated in this thesis contribute to fill the existing research gap about these new forms of environmental governance.

By approaching hybrid forms of environmental governance through Foucault's ideas on discourse, this research broadens the academic perspective on hybrid forms of environmental governance. However, by extensively focusing on discourse, the research leaves out perhaps other overlooked details that might otherwise play a large role in generating hybrid forms of

environmental governance. Therefore, I call for more studies on hybrid forms of environmental governance. This, to create a total meaning of the practice of hybrid environmental governance.

Where this thesis is my own ethnographic account, all the empirical found data is interpreted myself. It is true that ethnography is subjective. However, combined with an academic supportive scope, this ethnographic account helps to understand daily phenomena at an in-depth and personal level (O'Reilly 2012).

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## Appendix 1: Explanation to the categorization of research participants

### **Tour operators:**

With tour operators I mean people who work in tourism. Either people who guide tourist activities or who run a tourism organization themselves.

### **Environmental activists:**

I use 'environmental activists' for describing all people who work for an environmental organization or who are otherwise related to the environment by the type of job they have. For instance, people who provide environmental education or consult in the environmental domain.

### **Civil servants:**

With civil servants I mean the research participants who are working for the municipality of Peja.

### **Local citizens:**

Local citizens are local people I met from either Peja or Rugova, who do not work in the environmental domain.